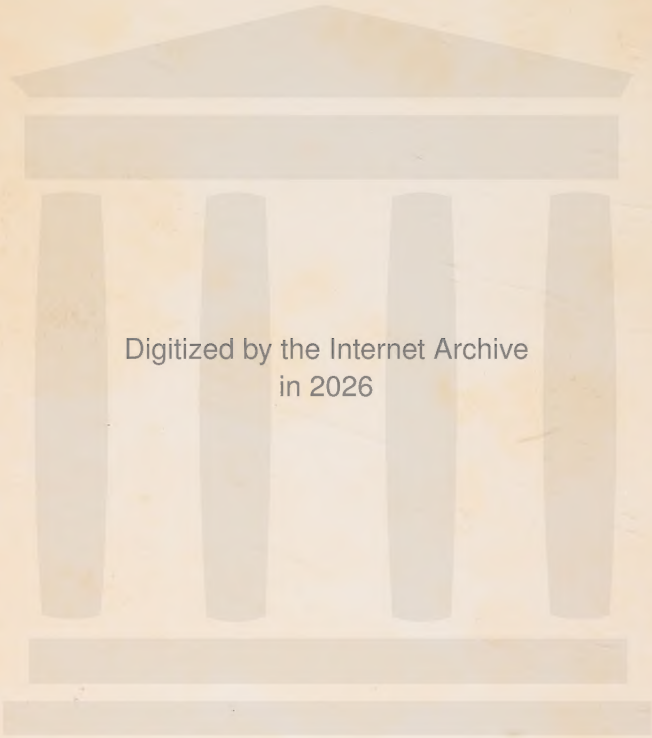
The Life of JOHN PAUL JONES

JAMES OTIS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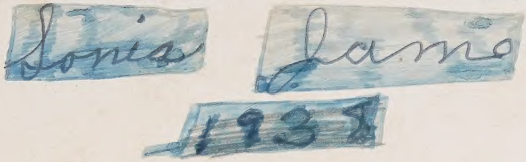
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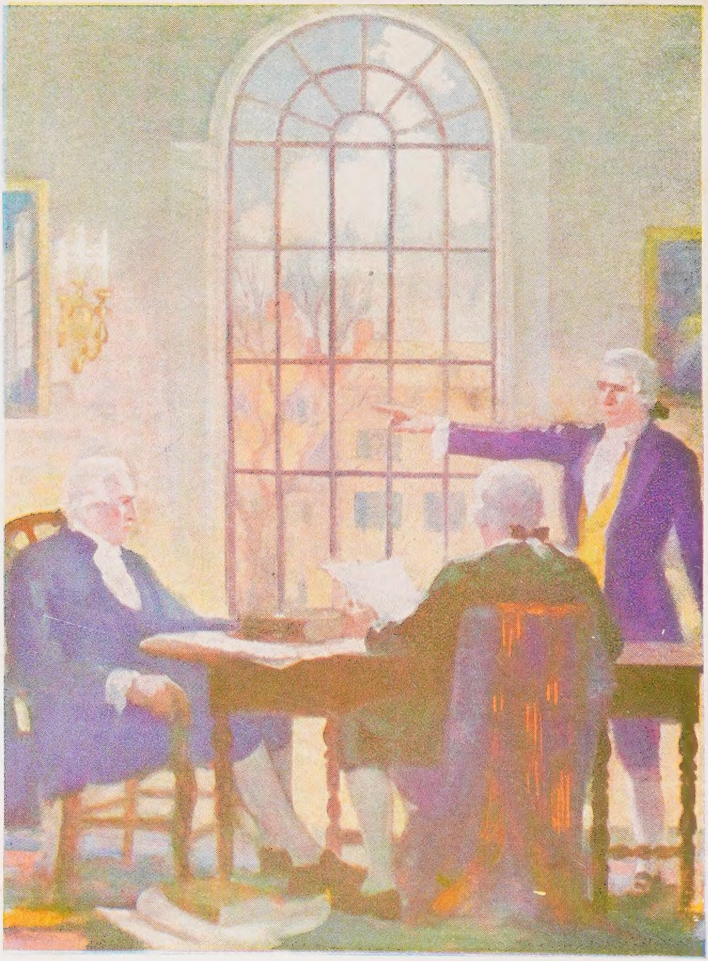

THE NEWS OF THE DEFEAT OF THE SERAPIS WAS RECEIVED WITH GREAT ELATION.

Frontispiece (*Life of John Paul Jones.*)

THE LIFE OF
JOHN PAUL JONES

WRITTEN FROM ORIGINAL LETTERS AND MANUSCRIPTS IN POSSESSION OF HIS RELATIVES, AND FROM THE COLLECTION PREPARED BY JOHN HENRY SHERBURNE

TOGETHER WITH CHEVALIER JONES' OWN ACCOUNT OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE LIMAN

EDITED AND COMPILED

By JAMES OTIS

A. L. BURT COMPANY

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THE LIFE OF JOHN PAUL JONES.

By James Otis.

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

PREFACE.

Paul Jones was an extraordinary man, and was engaged suddenly, after having been in a comparatively humble employment, in a career connected with events which occupied the attention of the civilized world. Setting aside the services rendered by him to the cause of American freedom, there would be no need of preface or explanation in presenting an account of his life, and selections from the most interesting portions of his correspondence to the public at large, were it not that several works have already been published.

The first which the editor of the present work remembers to have seen was a work in cheap paper form, in which was a frontispiece representing Paul Jones as large as the frigate he bestrode, shooting a Lieutenant Grubb with a horse-pistol more grand in its dimensions than any piece of artillery introduced into the picture. This juvenile reminiscence would be hardly worth recalling were it not that later the writer saw in a well-known magazine a detailed account, purporting to be a biographical sketch of somebody who had recently died, who had served under Paul Jones in the Serapis, describing the latter as shooting this Lieutenant Grubb,

with the same horse-pistol in the manner above specified.

As no Lieutenant Grubb ever sailed under the orders of Captain John Paul Jones, and as no such person could, in consequence, have been shot by him, it is evident that an unvarnished and full account of the rear-admiral's life ought to be circulated in regions where such fabulous and monstrous legends obtain, in this age of light, admission into public prints.

Many years ago, a large quantity of original papers belonging to the legatees of Paul Jones were sent to this country with a view to their being properly connected and published. They were submitted to the Historical Society of New York. The committee who examined them found that they were valuable and interesting; but circumstances prevented their publication at the time. Mr. Sherburne, register of the United States navy, opened a correspondence with the owners of these documents, with the view of preparing a life of Jones; but the negotiation failed.

Shortly after, some of the Chevalier's manuscripts belonging to his legatees, if they had known how and where to reclaim them, were accidentally found by a gentleman of New York, in a house in the city. They had been left in the custody of its former proprietor. From these, with copies of letters and documents on file in the department of state, Mr. Sherburne prepared a volume which was published in 1825.

Some singularly capricious demon, wonderfully ingenious in producing puzzling and painful disorder, seems to have presided over the arrangement of the materials. The appearance of order in some parts of the compilation only makes the general and particular entanglements more perplexing; and in some places, the person who connected the documents did so in the most reckless chronological manner.

From this chaos a clever writer in England contrived to select materials for a small book which was published by Murray. It contained some errors; but was, on the whole, entertaining.

In 1830 a third life of the Chevalier appeared, published in Edinburgh in two volumes, and was the best which had then been compiled, since it contained among other pertinent matter a translation of the Admiral's personal narrative of the campaign of the Liman. In that work the following account is given concerning the author's material:

"By his will, dated at Paris on the day of his death, Paul Jones left his property and effects of all kinds to his sisters in Scotland and their children. Immediately on his decease a regular, or rather an official, inventory was made of his voluminous papers, which were sealed up with his other effects, till brought to Scotland by his eldest sister, Mrs. Taylor, a few months after his death. They have ever since remained in the custody of his family, and are now, by inheritance, become the property of his niece, Miss Janette Taylor, of Dumfries. They con-

sist of several bound folio volumes of letters and documents, which are officially authenticated, so far as they are public papers; numerous scrolls and copies of letters; and many private communications, originating in his widely diffused correspondence in France, Holland, America, and other quarters. There is, in addition to these, a collection of writings of the miscellaneous kind likely to be accumulated by a man of active habits, who had for many years mingled both in the political and fashionable circles, wherever he chanced to be thrown.

"The Journal of the Campaign of 1788, against the Turks, forms of itself a thick MS. bound volume. This Journal was drawn up by Paul Jones for the perusal of the Empress Catharine II., and was intended for publication if the Russian government failed to do him justice. He felt that it totally failed; but death anticipated his long contemplated purpose. To this Journal, Mr. Eton, in his survey of the Turkish empire, refers, as having been seen by him. It was, however, only the official report, transmitted by Paul Jones to the admiralty of the Black Sea, that this gentleman could have seen. This singular narrative, which so confidently gives the lie to all the Russian statements of that momentous campaign, is written in French. In the following work the language of the original is as closely adhered to as is admissible even in the most literal translation. Several passages have been omitted, and others curtailed, as they refer merely to technical details, which might have unduly swelled this work, with-

out adding much to its interest. Much of the voluminous official correspondence which passed between Paul Jones and the other commanders during the campaign is also omitted."

Besides the documents named in the foregoing extracts, the editor had before him the correspondence of Jones with his relatives in Scotland, from his boyhood to his death. He has made but little use of it, as his extracts from it are few.

From the manuscripts in Miss Taylor's possession, the present compilation has been made. Public documents have been referred to occasionally, and in two or three instances, Sherburne's Collection has been cited, where the editor had not certified copies before him.

Regarding Paul Jones, Cooper says in his "Naval History":

"That Paul Jones was a remarkable man, cannot be justly questioned. He had a respectable English education, and after his ambition had been awakened by success, he appears to have paid attention to the intellectual parts of his profession. In his enterprises are to be discovered much of that boldness of conception that marks a great naval captain, though his most celebrated battle is probably the one in which he evinced no other very high quality than that of an invincible resolution to conquer. Most of the misfortunes of the Bon Homme Richard, however, may be very fairly attributed to the insubordination of his captains, and to the bad equipment of his own vessel. The expedient of

running the Serapis aboard was one like himself, and it was the only chance of victory that was left.

"Paul Jones was a man rather under than above the middle size, and his countenance has been described as possessing much of that sedateness which marks deep enthusiasm. There is no doubt that his eminence arose from the force of his convictions, rather than from his power of combining, though his reasoning faculties were respectable. His associations in Paris appear to have awakened a taste which, whenever it comes late in life, is almost certain to come attended with exaggeration. Personally he would seem to have been vain; a very excusable foible in one of his education and previous habits, that was suddenly exposed to the flattery and seduction of Parisian society. An affectation of a literary taste, that expended itself principally in homage to those he admired, formed indeed one of his principal weaknesses.

"In battle, Paul Jones was brave; in enterprise, hardy and original; in victory, mild and generous; in motive, much disposed to disinterestedness, though ambitious of renown and covetous of distinction; in his pecuniary relations, liberal; in his affections, natural and sincere; and in his temper, except in those cases which assailed his reputation, just and forgiving. He wanted the quiet self-respect of a man capable of meeting acts of injustice with composure and dignity; and his complaints of ill-treatment and neglect, for which there was sufficient foundation, probably lost him favor both in France and

America. Had circumstances put him in a situation of high command, there is little doubt that he would have left the name unsurpassed by that of any naval captain, or have perished in endeavoring to obtain it."

Benjamin Franklin, who was the Chevalier's firm friend, wrote: "For Captain Paul Jones ever loved close fighting."

John Adams declared: "If I could see a prospect of half a dozen line-of-battle ships under the American flag and commanded by Commodore Paul Jones engaged with an equal British force, I apprehend the result would be so glorious for the United States, and lay so sure a foundation for their prosperity, that it would be a rich compensation for the continuance of the war."

JAMES OTIS.

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LIFE OF PAUL JONES.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE.

John Paul, afterwards known as the celebrated Chevalier John Paul Jones, was born on the 6th of July, 1747, at Arbigland, in the parish of Kirkbean, and stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in Scotland. The family was originally from the shire of Fife; but it appears that the grandfather of the subject of this memoir kept a garden, the produce of which he sold to the public in Leith. His son, on finishing his apprenticeship, entered as a gardener into the employment of Mr. Craik, of Arbigland, in which he remained until his death in 1767. It is abundantly proved that he was a man of uniformly respectable character and intelligence. In his profession he exhibited much skill and taste. The English memoir contains the following account of his family, which was furnished by his descendants.

"Shortly after entering into the employment of Mr. Craik, John Paul married Jean Macduff, the

daughter of a small farmer in the neighborhood parish of New-Abbey. The Macduffs were a respectable rural race in their own district; and some of them had been small landed proprietors in the parish of Kirkbean, for an immemorial period. Of this marriage there were seven children, of whom John, afterwards known as John Paul Jones, was the fifth; he may indeed be called the youngest, as two children born after him died in infancy. The first-born of the family, William Paul, went abroad early in life, and finally settled and married in Fredericksburg, in Virginia. He appears to have been a man of enterprise and judgment. Beyond his early education and virtuous habits he could have derived no advantage from his family; and, in 1772 or 1773, when he died, still a young man, he left a considerable fortune. Of the daughters, the eldest, Elizabeth, died unmarried; Janet, the second, married Mr. Taylor, a watchmaker in Dumfries; and the third, Mary Ann, was twice married, first to a Mr. Young, and afterwards to Mr. Loudon."

When John Paul, the fifth of this family, afterwards became the terror of the seas, the hero of a hundred fearful legends, and the subject of admiration and jealousy in the most brilliant courts, it was natural enough that so modest a paternity should neither satisfy the romance of the imaginative, nor the antipathy of the envious and intimidated; and many stories were current, some assigning to him Mr. Craik, and others an earl of Selkirk, as his

father. These weak inventions have long since been exploded, though preserved in the pages of fanciful novelists. In answer to an inquiry of Baron Vander Capellan, in 1779, Jones says, "I never had any obligation to Lord Selkirk, except for his good opinion; nor does he know me or mine, except by character." This is verified by the whole tenor of the correspondence which we shall have occasion to introduce.

If ever localities might be inferred to have determined the intellectual bias of an individual, the birthplace of John Paul, and the scenery and associations of its vicinity, may be cited as admirably calculated to lay the groundwork for the restless spirit of adventure, an inclination for poetry, and an occasional imaginary longing for solitude, study, and rural retirement, all of which, without any real inconsistency, were subsequently developed in his character.

His father lived near the shores of the Solway, in one of the most picturesque and beautiful points of the Frith. The favorite pastime of his early years was to launch his "fairy frigate" on the waters, and issue commands to his supposed officers and crew. At this time, the town of Dumfries carried on a considerable trade in tobacco with America, the cargoes of which were unshipped at the Carsethorn, near the mouth of the river Nith, which was not then navigable by foreign vessels. His daily intercourse with seamen here tended of course to strengthen and confirm his nascent passion. It is

also observed that his regard for America, and his willingness to descend with fire and sword, in her cause, upon the shores of his native land, which were thought unnatural, may have had their origin in the conversations of mariners from the discontented colonies.

Certain it is that his disposition to begin his career upon the ocean was so strong, that his friends deemed it proper to yield to it. At the age of twelve, he was bound apprentice to Mr. Younger, a respectable merchant in the American trade, residing at Whitehaven, on the opposite side of Solway Frith. Vulgar invention, in its distorted picture of his life and actions, assumed that he ran away to sea against the will of his relations, a rumor which they always declared to be totally without foundation. Neither then, nor at any subsequent period, was he wanting in affection for them, and solicitude for their welfare. His anxiety for the comforts and respectability of his sisters and their families was warmly and substantially expressed in his prosperity, and at his death he bequeathed to them all his property.

His education at the parish school of Kirkbean must of course have been limited, but there is no doubt he improved it to the best advantage. The general correctness of his style and orthography indicate that he had been well instructed in the rudiments of grammar. Notwithstanding his strong relish for active and dangerous adventure, he devoted its intervals to close application to study. While in

port, whether abroad or at Whitehaven, during the period of his apprenticeship, he applied himself to learning the theory of navigation, and to other subjects of practical use. Many years after, we find him in one of his letters, while modestly admitting that much more accomplished seamen might be found than himself, referring to hours of systematic "midnight" study. In the letters written in French, which are in his own hand, the spelling is infinitely more accurate than that of many of his illustrious and titled correspondents. These circumstances show that his mental culture was methodically and well begun; and these habits of mind are not such as belong to a reckless adventurer in quest of mere private emolument or personal fame.

He made his first voyage before he was thirteen, in the Friendship, of Whitehaven, Captain Benson, bound for the Rappahannock. His home, while in port, was the house of an elder brother, William, who had married and settled in Virginia. His prepossessions in favor of America, and sympathy with colonial feelings, were here naturally fostered under circumstances calculated to make them keen and enduring; indissolubly connected as they were with his first professional impressions.

The correctness of his conduct, and his extraordinary intelligence and aptitude for acquiring knowledge in naval matters, caused him to be most favorably regarded by his masters. Mr. Younger, however, soon found his affairs embarrassed; and was induced, in consequence, to give up Paul's

indentures. This license to act for himself would have been, to a boy whose purposes in living were not in some measure fixed, and whose will was undecided as to the future, a passport to obscurity, if not to disgrace. He availed himself of it wisely having confidence in himself. He obtained the appointment of third mate of the King George, of Whitehaven, a vessel engaged in the slave trade. In 1766 he shipped, as chief mate, on board the brigantine Two Friends, of Kingston, Jamaica, which was engaged in the same traffic. It is said by the friends of Paul that he became disgusted with the business of stealing human beings, and left the ship on its arrival in the West Indies. Independently of their evidence, which is in every respect entitled to credit, the supposition will be found to be confirmed by the uniform tenor of his correspondence, whenever he speaks of the principles of action which he asserts to have governed his services and enterprises. And it is fair to infer that the exhibition of these horrors, at which his feelings revolted, strengthened his love for that liberty in whose cause he afterwards fought; and for that land which knew how to vindicate the cause of liberty.

It is stated, at any rate, by those from whom alone any information can be derived, as to Paul's adventures at this period, that he returned to Scotland from this second slaving-voyage, as a passenger, in the brigantine John, of Kirkcudbright, Captain Macadam commander. On this voyage the captain

and mate both died of fever; and there being no one on board equally capable of navigating the ship, Paul assumed the command, and brought her safe into port. For this service he was appointed by the owners, Currie, Beck & Co., master and supercargo.

It appears that Paul sailed for two voyages, as master, in the employment of this firm, and, sometime in the course of the year 1780, found it necessary, in order to preserve his authority and enforce discipline, to punish a man named Mungo Maxwell, borne on the books as carpenter of the vessel. Mungo, being whipped, stated to the authorities at Tobago that his back was sore, and that his feelings were hurt; both of which representations they seem to have believed in, without feeling themselves called upon to heal the one, or to soothe the other. But it appears that he subsequently instituted a prosecution against Paul in England, which gave the latter some trouble, as will be seen by a letter from him to his mother and sisters, which we shall presently introduce.

There would scarcely be any necessity of mentioning this circumstance at all, were it not that calumny founded upon it one of its grossest charges against him who was afterwards the Chevalier Paul Jones; that he was accused by vulgar rumor of torturing Mungo, by the process of flagellation, in a manner which caused his death; and that his enemies did not disdain to rake up this legend, when he had the glory and the misfortune of exciting

the jealousy of the Russian courtiers. All the authentic particulars of the transaction which we can obtain now are, that being invested with a legitimate authority, which it was more peculiarly necessary for the preservation of the vessel and cargo, on that account, to sustain, Paul punished a sailor for rebellion and sullen impudence; and that the subject of discipline was displeased, as was naturally to be expected. The following are the official documents which Paul thought proper, or found it expedient, to procure in relation to this transaction:

"TOBAGO.

"Before the Honorable Lieutenant-Governor William Young, Esq., of the island aforesaid, personally appeared James Simpson, Esq., who, being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, That some time about the beginning of May, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy, a person in the habit of a sailor came to this deponent (who was at that time Judge Surrogate of the Court of Vice-Admiralty for the island aforesaid) with a complaint against John Paul (commander of a brigantine then lying in Rockley Bay, of the said island), for having beat the then complainant (who belonged to the said John Paul's vessel), at the same time showing this deponent his shoulders, which had thereon the marks of several stripes, but none that were either mortal or dangerous, to the best of this deponent's opinion and belief. And this deponent further saith,

that he did summon the said John Paul before him, who, in his vindication, alleged that the said complainant had on all occasions proved very ill qualified for, as well as very negligent in, his duty; and, also, that he was very lazy and inactive in the execution of his, the said John Paul's, lawful commands, at the same time declaring his sorrow for having corrected the complainant. And this deponent further saith that, having dismissed the complaint as frivolous, the complainant, as this deponent believes, returned to his duty. And this deponent saith that he has since understood that the said complainant died afterwards on board of a different vessel, on her passage of the Leeward Islands, and that the said John Paul (as this deponent is informed) had been accused in Great Britain as the immediate author of the said complainant's death, by means of the said stripes hereinbefore mentioned, which accusation this deponent, for the sake of humanity and justice, in the most solemn manner declares, and believes to be, in his judgment, without any just foundation, so far as relates to the stripes before mentioned, which this deponent very particularly examined. And further this deponent saith not.

"JAMES SIMPSON.

"Sworn before me, this 30th day of June, 1772, William Young."

"James Eastment, mariner, and late master of the Barcelona packet, maketh oath, and saith, That Mungo Maxwell, carpenter on board the John,

Captain John Paul, master, came in good health on board his, this deponent's, vessel, then lying in Great Rockley Bay, in the island of Tobago, about the middle of the month of June, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy, in the capacity of a carpenter, aforesaid; that he acted as such in every respect in perfect health for some days after he came on board this deponent's said vessel, the Barcelona packet; after which he was taken ill of a fever and lowness of spirits, which continued for four or five days, when he died on board the said vessel, during her passage from Tobago to Antigua. And this deponent further saith, that he never heard the said Mungo Maxwell complain of having received any ill usage from the said Captain John Paul; but that he, this deponent, verily believes the said Mungo Maxwell's death was occasioned by a fever and lowness of spirits, as aforesaid, and not by or through any other cause or causes whatsoever.

"JAMES EASTMENT.

"Sworn at the Mansion House, London,
this 30th day of January, 1773, before me,
James Townsend, Mayor."

"These do certify to whom it may concern, that the bearer, Captain John Paul, was two voyages master of a vessel called the John, in our employ in the West India trade, during which time he approved himself every way qualified both as a navigator and supercargo; but as our present firm is dissolved, the vessel is sold, and of course he is out of our employ,

all accounts between him and the owners being amicably adjusted. Certified at Kirkcudbright this 1st of April, 1771.

"CURRIE, BECK & Co."

The following is the letter to his mother and sisters, written more than two years after the affair in question, during which time he must have made other voyages:

"LONDON, 24*th September*, 1772.

"MY DEAR MOTHER AND SISTERS,—

"I only arrived here last night from the Grenadas. I have had but poor health during the voyage; and my success in it, not having equaled my first sanguine expectations, has added very much to the asperity of my misfortunes, and, I am well assured, was the cause of my loss of health. I am now, however, better, and I trust Providence will soon put me in a way to get bread, and which is by far my greatest happiness, be serviceable to my poor but much-valued friends. I am able to give you no account of my proceedings in the future, as they depend upon circumstances which are not fully determined.

"I have enclosed you a copy of an affidavit made before Governor Young by the Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty of Tobago, by which you will see with how little reason my life has been thirsted after, and, which is much dearer to me, my honor, by maliciously loading my fair character with obloquy and

vile aspersions. I believe there are few who are hard-hearted enough to think I have not long since given the world every satisfaction in my power, being conscious of my innocence before Heaven, who will one day judge even my judges. I staked my honor, life, and fortune for six long months on the verdict of a British jury, notwithstanding I was sensible of the general prejudices which ran against me; but, after all, none of my accusers had the courage to confront me. Yet I am willing to convince the world, if reason and facts will do it, that they have had no foundation for their harsh treatment. I mean to send Mr. Craik a copy properly proved, as his nice feelings will not perhaps be otherwise satisfied; in the meantime, if you please, you may show him that enclosed. His ungracious conduct to me before I left Scotland I have not yet been able to get the better of. Every person of feeling must think meanly of adding to the load of the afflicted. It is true I bore it with seeming unconcern, but Heaven can witness for me, that I suffered the more on that very account. But enough of this. . . ."

The precise nature of the ungracious conduct of Craik, referred to in the foregoing letter, cannot now be explained with precision, but may easily be conjectured. Paul looked up to this gentleman as the former patron of his father, and existing protector of his mother and sisters, with gratitude and deference, and probably with a warmth of respectful regard, which was chilled by the mortifying coldness of a cautious reception, such as it is reasonable to in-

fer he may have met with from Mr. Craik, to whom his conduct had been misrepresented. He had, no doubt, taken it for granted that his own simple statements would be sufficient to satisfy what he calls the "nice feelings" of that gentleman; in which expectation it would seem that he was disappointed. It is known that Mr. Craik subsequently exculpated him from all blame in the affair of Mungo. The following letter appears to have been the last which Paul ever addressed to him.

"St. George, Grenada, *5th August*, 1770.

"Sir,—

"Common report here says that my owners are going to finish their connections in the West Indies as fast as possible. How far this is true, I shall not pretend to judge; but should that really prove the case, you know the disadvantages I must of course labor under.

"These, however, would not have been so great had I been acquainted with the matter sooner, as in that case I believe I could have made interest with some gentlemen here to have been concerned with me in a large ship out of London; and as these gentlemen have estates in this and the adjacent islands, I should have been able to make two voyages every year, and always had a full ship out and home, etc., etc., etc.

. . . . . .

"However, I by no means repine, as it is a maxim with me to do my best, and leave the rest to Prov-

idence. I shall take no step whatever without your knowledge and approbation.

"I have had several very severe fevers lately, which have reduced me a good deal, though I am now perfectly recovered.

"I must beg you to supply my mother, should she want anything, as I well know your readiness.

"I hope yourself and family enjoy health and happiness. I am, most sincerely, sir, yours always,

"JOHN PAUL."

Shortly after this period, Paul commanded the Betsey of London, a vessel engaged in the West India trade. He has been accused of being concerned in the smuggling business, which was at that time carried on to a great extent by those who lived along the shores of the Solway; a charge which he always solemnly denied, and which there is not a particle of evidence to support. On the contrary, the very first entry of licensed goods from England, made in the Isle of Man after it was annexed to the crown, stands in his name in the Custom House books at Douglas, being of the first rum regularly imported there. His commercial speculations in the West Indies were various and extensive. In 1771 he saw his relations in Scotland for the last time. In 1773 he went to Virginia, to arrange the affairs of his brother William, who had died childless and intestate. He left funds at Tobago and elsewhere, which the faithlessness of his agents prevented him from realizing as he had ex-

pected. He was soon to be called upon to act in the great struggle for liberty, whose coming events were to swallow up in their importance the calculations of private interest.

There can be no doubt that at this time he thought he had determined to devote the rest of his life to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, study, and domestic life; or as he phrases it, in one of his favorite quotations, to "calm contemplation and poetic ease." In his letter to the Countess of Selkirk, in which he affirms that such was his fixed purpose, he also speaks of having been led to "sacrifice not only his favorite schemes of life, but the softer affections of his heart, and his hopes of domestic happiness." We have no data from which to infer that these schemes, affections, and hopes revolved around any ascertained and existing orb and center of attraction; or that Paul felt any more distinct longing than that inspired by the general *besoin d'aimer*, proper to his age and imaginative temperament. Paul's letters show throughout that he had a sense of moral and religious obligation, tinged with a true chivalric feeling, such as does not belong to robbers and cut-throats. His early education was in Scotland. We find, too, that Thomson was his favorite poet.

It is not unlikely that at this time the details and associations of West India trading voyages seemed disgusting to him. It would appear, indeed, from the following passage in a letter already referred to, addressed to the Hon. Robert Morris three years

after this period, that his commercial affairs had become temporarily entangled. He says, "I conclude that Mr. Hewes has acquainted you with a very great misfortune which befell me some years ago, and which brought me into North America. I am under no concern whatever that this, or any other past circumstance of my life, will sink me in your opinion. Since human wisdom cannot secure us from accidents, it is the greatest effort of human wisdom to bear them well." It is evident from his relations to the distinguished person he was writing to, from the frankness of his language, and his subsequent arrangement of all his obligations, that this "great misfortune" must have been a disappointment in business, on which no shadow of censure could, without iniquity, be cast. This disappointment, or one which was connected with it, is probably referred to in the letter inserted below, addressed to a valued friend, Mr. Stuart Mawey of Tobago, just before Jones sailed from Boston, fully commissioned as an officer of the United States:

"Boston, *4th May*, 1777.

"Dear Sir,—

"After an unprofitable suspense of twenty months (having subsisted on fifty pounds only during that time), when my hopes of relief were entirely cut off, and there remained no possibility of my receiving wherewithal to subsist upon from my effects in your island, or in England, I at last had recourse to strangers for that aid and comfort which was denied

me by those friends whom I had entrusted with my all. The good offices which are rendered to persons in their extreme need ought to make deep impressions on grateful minds; in my case I feel the truth of that sentiment, and am bound by gratitude, as well as honor, to follow the fortunes of my late benefactors.

"I have lately seen Mr. Sicaton (late manager on the estates of Arch. Stuart, Esq.), who informed me that Mr. Ferguson had quitted Grange Valley, on being charged with the unjust application of the property of his employers. I have been, and am, extremely concerned at this account; I wish to disbelieve it, although it seems too much of a piece with the unfair advantage which, to all appearances, he took of me, when he left me in exile for twenty months, a prey to melancholy and want, and withheld my property, without writing a word in excuse for his conduct. Thus circumstanced, I have taken the liberty of sending you a letter of attorney by Captain Cleaveland, who undertakes to deliver it himself, as he goes for Tobago via Martinico. You have enclosed a copy of a list of debts contracted with me, together with Ferguson's receipt. And there remained a considerable property unsold, besides some best Madeira wine which he had shipped for London. By the state of accounts which I sent to England on my arrival on this continent, there was a balance due to me from the ship Betsy of nine hundred and nine pounds, fifteen shillings, three pence sterling; and in my account with Robert Young, Esq., 29th

January, 1773, there appeared a balance in my favor of two hundred and eighty-one pounds, one shilling, eight pence sterling. These sums exceed my drafts and just debts together; so that, if I am fairly dealt with, I ought to receive a considerable remittance from that quarter. You will please to observe that there were nine pieces of coarse camlets shipped at Cork, over and above the quantity expressed in the bill of lading. It seems the shippers, finding their mistake, applied for the goods; and, as I have been informed from Grenada, Mr. Ferguson laid hold of this opportunity to propagate a report that all the goods which I put into his hands were the property of that house in Cork. If this base suggestion hath gained belief, it accounts for all the neglect which I have experienced. But however my connections are changed, my principles as an honest man of candor and integrity are the same; therefore, should there not be a sufficiency of my property in England to answer my just debts, I declare that it is my first wish to make up such deficiency from my property in Tobago; and were even that also to fall short, I am ready and willing to make full and ample remittances from hence upon hearing from you the true state of affairs. As I hope my dear mother is still alive, I must inform you that I wish my property in Tobago, or in England, after paying my just debts, to be applied for her support. Your own feelings, my dear sir, make it unnecessary for me to use arguments to prevail with you on this tender point. Any remittances

which you may be enabled to make, through the hands of my good friend, Captain John Plaince, of Cork, will be faithfully put into her hands; she hath several orphan grandchildren to provide for. I have made no apology for giving you this trouble: my situation will, I trust, obtain your free pardon.

"I am always, with perfect esteem, dear sir, your very obliged, very obedient, and most humble servant,

"J. Paul Jones.

"Stuart Mawey, Esquire, Tobago."

His taking possession of his brother's estate encouraged for the time being his imaginary predilection for still life; and he looked for sufficient remittances from those to whom he had confided the management of his affairs to enable him to realize his vision of tranquil seclusion from the bustle of the world. In the latter hope, as has been mentioned, he was disappointed; and from this reason, if from no other, retirement must have become insufferable to a young man of his temper, at the stirring epoch,

> When transatlantic Liberty arose,
> Not in the sunshine, and the smile of heaven,
> But wrapped in whirlwinds, and begirt with woes.

In every point of view he was thus fitted to act the part it fell to his lot to perform in the ensuing

drama. Nature had made him a hero; circumstances had prepared him to command men and give an emphatic direction to the development of their energies; and these qualifications, united with the integrity of his heart and mind, rendered him worthy of co-working with the band of brave spirits who came forth with free and uncorrupted souls, and in the power and majesty of truth, to vindicate the rights which they knew how to exercise, as well as to assert.

Though his education as a seaman had been principally in the merchant service, he had sailed frequently in armed vessels; and how sound his opinions were, acquired by observation or study, on the subject of naval discipline, will appear from his letters to the continental authorities; while his great practical skill in all his maneuvers and engagements is perhaps more admirable than his daring and desperate courage. One of his English biographers observes: "It is singular that during the first years of the American navy, with the exception of Paul Jones, no man of any talent is to be found directing its operations. Had it not been for the exertions of this individual, who was unsupported by fortune or connections, it is very probable that the American naval power would have gradually disappeared."

In the beginning of the year 1775, as will appear from one of his letters, his immediate pecuniary resources, from the causes he mentions, had almost entirely failed him, and for the two years following,

he lived, as he expresses it, "upon fifty pounds." Mere necessity, however, could not have determined his election of an occupation, when he accepted a commission from the Continental Congress. A man who had begun life with nothing but "health and good spirits" for his patrimony, who, while a mere boy, had known how to obtain profitable employments of much responsibility, and who was now in the incipient prime of mental and bodily vigor, could have been at no loss in investing the capital of his abilities, his credit, and his "fifty pounds," in many speculations, which must, to ordinary minds at this epoch, have seemed far more promising than the cause of the colonists.

An English compiler of his memoirs, with very good intentions, speaks in an equivocal manner, in his analysis of Paul's motives. He also enters into an unnecessary apology for his consenting to bear arms against the mother country. The following remarks, made by him, are, however, worthy of being quoted here:

"Though in the heat of a struggle, which, from its very nature, was, like the feuds of the nearest relatives, singularly rancorous and bitter, Jones was branded as a traitor and a felon, and after his most brilliant action, his capture of the Serapis, formally denounced by the British ambassador of the Hague as a rebel and a pirate according to the laws of war, it must be remembered that he bore this stigma in common with the best and greatest of his contem-

poraries—with Franklin, and Washington; which last had actually borne arms in the service of the king of England. The memory of Paul Jones now needs little vindication for this important step. After the peace he enjoyed the esteem and private friendship of Englishmen who might have forgiven the most imbittered political hostility, but never could have overlooked a taint on personal honor. Of this number was the Earl of Wemyss, who after the peace endeavored to promote the views of Jones on various occasions. He himself, however, discovers a lurking consciousness of having incurred, if not of meriting, suspicion on this delicate ground. This is chiefly displayed by his eloquent though rather frequent assertions of purity of motive, superiority to objects of sordid interest, and disinterested zeal for the cause, now of America, now of human nature, as was best adapted to the supposed inclinations of his correspondents. In ordinary circumstances, much of this might have appeared uncalled for; but the situation of Jones was in many respects peculiar both as a native-born Briton, and as a man of obscure origin, jealous—and pardonably so—of his independence and dignity of character. Somewhat of his heroic vaunting which marks other parts of his correspondence appears incident to the enthusiastic temperament of many great naval commanders. How would Nelson's tone of confident prediction, and boasts of prowess, have sounded from the lips of an inferior man? In any other than himself, the customary language of Drake

would have been reckoned that of an insolent braggart."

Writing to Baron Vander Capellan, some years after the conflict began, Jones says, in a spirit of bitterness, provoked by his being stigmatized as a pirate, rebel, etc., in the British prints:

"I was born in Britain; but I do not inherit the degenerate spirit of that fallen nation, which I at once lament and despise. It is far beneath me to reply to their hireling invectives. They are strangers to the inward approbation that greatly animates and rewards the man who draws his sword only in support of the dignity of freedom. America has been the country of my fond election from the age of thirteen, when I first saw it. I had the honor to hoist with my own hands the flag of freedom, the first time it was displayed on the Delaware; and I have attended it with veneration ever since, on the ocean."

At the time when Paul settled (or more properly, supposed he meant to settle) in Virginia, it would seem that he assumed the additional surname of Jones. Previous to this date, his letters are signed John Paul. We are left to conjecture the reason of this arbitrary change. His relations were never able to assign one; there is no allusion to the circumstance in the manuscripts which he left, and tradition is silent on the subject. It was, however, a caprice by no means singular in a seafaring man.

CHAPTER II.

THE AMERICAN NAVY.

It is not within the province of this narrative to sketch the early history of the American navy, or its operations during the Revolutionary war, except where Jones was connected with them. Of these he is his own historian.

With the view of cutting off the supplies sent in store ships to Boston, then in possession of the British, and in a state of blockade,—of obtaining powder and the munitions of war, which were not to be had in the colonies,—and of retaliating for depredations committed by British emissaries along the coast, the General Court of Massachusetts on the 13th of November, 1775, passed an act authorizing letters of marque and reprisal to be issued against ships infesting the seacoast of America, and elected courts to try and condemn such as should be captured.

General Washington, as Commander-in-chief, gave commissions to a number of vessels, to intercept the supplies intended for Boston. Privateers swarmed in the bay of Boston, and off the neighboring seacoast.

Instances of gallant and ingenious enterprises were numerous, and the names of those by whom they were conducted will be entitled to a place in our national history. On the 13th of December, 1775, the Continental Congress adopted a report of the Committee appointed to devise ways and means for fitting out a naval armament; in which it was recommended that thirteen frigates should be got ready for sea; five to be of thirty-two guns, five of twenty-eight, and three of twenty-four. They also commissioned a small fleet collected in the Delaware to cruise against the enemy, and passed the following resolution:

"In Congress, 22d December, 1775.

"Resolved, that the following naval officers be appointed:

"Ezek. Hopkins, Esq., Commander-in-Chief of the fleet.

Dudley Saltonstall, Captain of the Alfred.
Abraham Whipple, " " Columbus.
Nicholas Biddle, " " Andrew Doria.
John B. Hopkins, " " Cabot.

"First Lieutenants, John Paul Jones, Rhodes Arnold, Stansbury, Hersted Hacker, Jonathan Pitcher.

"Second Lieutenants, Benjamin Seabury, Joseph Olney, Elisha Warner, Thomas Weaver, —— M'Dougall.

"Third Lieutenants, John Fanning, Ezekiel Borroughs, Daniel Vaughan.

"Resolved, that the pay of the Commander-in-Chief of the fleet be one hundred and twenty-five dollars per month."

To this small fleet were added the sloop Providence, the command of which Jones declined for the reasons stated in his narrative, which we shall presently follow.

The force consisted of:

Alfred, Commodore Hopkins, 30 guns and 300 men.

Columbus, Whipple, 28 guns and 300 men.

Andrew Doria, Biddle, 16 guns and 200 men.

Sebastian Cabot, Hopkins, Jr., 14 guns and 200 men.

Providence, Hazard, 12 guns and 150 men.

The flag of America was hoisted by Jones, as he records, being the first time it was displayed, on board of the Alfred, of which he was first lieutenant. He does not mention the date of this transaction, which it would be extremely interesting to ascertain. His commission to act as lieutenant bore date on the 7th December. 1775

The squadron was originally destined to act against Lord Dunmore, who was committing acts of outrage and depredation along the coast of Virginia. The navigation of the Delaware was, however, interrupted by the ice, and the fleet did not leave Cape Henlopen until the 17th of February, 1776.

The most succinct and clear account of this period of his service is given by Jones in the commencement of a Journal, drawn up at the request of the king of France, and read by that unfortunate monarch when he was a prisoner. It is as follows:

"When Congress thought fit to equip a naval force towards the conclusion of the year 1775, 'for the defense of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof,' it was a very difficult matter to find men fitly qualified for officers, and willing to embark in the ships and vessels that were then put into commission. The American navy at first was no more than the ships Alfred and Columbus, the brigantines Andrew Doria, and Cabot, and the sloop Providence. A commander-in-chief of the fleet was appointed; and the Captains Saltonstall, Whipple, Biddle, and Hopkins were named for the ships and brigantines. A captain's commission for the Providence, bought, or to be bought, about the time, from Captain Whipple, which Mr. Joseph Hewes of the Marine Committee offered to his friend Mr. John Paul Jones, was not accepted, because Mr. Jones had never sailed in a sloop, and had then no idea of the declaration of independence that took place the next year. It was his early wish to do his best for the cause of America, which he considered as the cause of human nature. He could have no object of self-interest; and having then no prospect that the American navy would soon become an established service, that rank was the most

acceptable to him by which he could be the most useful in that moment of public calamity.

"There were three classes of lieutenants appointed, and Mr. Jones was appointed the first of the first lieutenants, which placed him next in command to the four captains already mentioned. This commission under the united colonies is dated the 7th day of December, 1775, as first lieutenant of the Alfred. On board of that ship, before Philadelphia, Mr. Jones hoisted the flag of America with his own hands, the first time it was ever displayed, as the commander-in-chief embarked on board the Alfred. All the commissions for the Alfred were dated before the commissions for the Columbus, etc. All the time this little squadron was fitting and manning, Mr. Jones superintended the affairs of the Alfred; and as Captain Saltonstall did not appear at Philadelphia, the commander-in-chief told Mr. Jones he should command that ship. A day or two before the squadron sailed from Philadelphia, manned and fit for sea, Captain Saltonstall appeared, and took command of the Alfred.

"The object of the first expedition was against Lord Dunmore in Virginia. But instead of proceeding immediately on that service, the squadron was hauled to the wharfs at Reedy Island, and lay there for six weeks frozen up. Here Mr. Jones and the other lieutenants stood the deck, watch and watch, night and day, to prevent desertion; and they lost no man from the Alfred.

"On the 17th of February, 1776, the squadron

sailed from the bay of Delaware, having been joined the day before by a small sloop and a very small schooner from Baltimore.

"On the 1st of March the squadron anchored at Abaco, one of the Bahama Islands, and carried in there two sloops belonging to New Providence. Some persons on board the sloops informed that a quantity of powder and warlike stores might be taken in the forts of New Providence. An expedition was determined on against that island. It was resolved to embark the marines on board the two sloops. They were to remain below deck until the sloops had anchored in the harbor close to the forts, and they were then to land and take possession.

"There was not a single soldier in the island to oppose them; therefore the plan would have succeeded, and not only the public stores might have been secured, but a considerable contribution might have been obtained as a ransom for the town and island, had not the whole squadron appeared off the harbor in the morning, instead of remaining out of sight till after the sloops had entered and the marines secured the forts.

"On the appearance of the squadron the signal of alarm was fired, so that it was impossible to think of crossing the bar. The commander-in-chief proposed to go round the west end of the island, and endeavor to march the marines up and get behind the town; but this could never have been effected. The islanders would have had time to

collect; there was no fit anchorage for the squadron, nor road from that part of the island to the town.

"Mr. Jones finding by the Providence pilots that the squadron might anchor under a key three leagues to windward of the harbor, gave this account to the commander-in-chief, who, objecting to the dependence on the pilots, Mr. Jones undertook to carry the Alfred safe in. He took the pilot with him to the fore-top mast-head, whence they could see every danger, and the squadron anchored safe.

"The marines, with two vessels to cover their landing, were immediately sent in by the east passage. The commander-in-chief promised to touch no private property. The inhabitants abandoned the forts, and the governor, finding he must surrender the island, embarked all the powder in two vessels, and sent them away in the night. This was foreseen, and might have been prevented, by sending the two brigantines to lie off the bar.

"The squadron entered the harbor of New Providence, and sailed thence the 17th of March, having embarked the cannon, etc., that was found in the fort.

"In the night of the 9th of April, on the return of the squadron from the Providence expedition, the American arms by sea were first tried in an action with the Glasgow, a British frigate of 24 guns, off Block Island. Both the Alfred and Columbus mounted two batteries. The Alfred mounted 30, the Columbus 28, guns. The first battery was so near the water as to be fit for nothing except in a

harbor or a very smooth sea. The sea was at times perfectly smooth.

"Mr. Jones was stationed between decks to command the Alfred's first battery, which was well served whenever the guns could be brought to bear on the enemy, as appears by the official letter of the commander-in-chief giving an account of that action. Mr. Jones therefore did his duty; and as he had no direction whatever, either of the general disposition of the squadron, or the sails and helm of the Alfred, he can stand charged with no part of the disgrace of that night.

"The squadron steered directly for New London, and entered that port two days after the action. Here General Washington lent the squadron 200 men, as was thought, for some enterprise. The squadron, however, stole quietly round to Rhode Island, and up the river to Providence. Here a court-martial was held for the trial of Captain Whipple, for not assisting in the action with the Glasgow.

"Another court-martial was held for the trial of Captain Hazard, who had been appointed captain of the sloop Providence at Philadelphia, some time after Mr. Jones had refused that command. Captain Hazard was broke, and rendered incapable of serving in the navy.

"The next day, the 10th of May, 1776, Mr. Jones was ordered by the commander-in-chief to take command 'as captain of the Providence.' This proves that Mr. Jones did his duty on the Prov-

idence expedition. As the commander-in-chief had in his hands no blank commission, this appointment was written and signed on the back of the commission that Mr. Jones had received at Philadelphia the 7th of December, 1775.

"Captain Jones had orders to receive on board the Providence the soldiers that had been borrowed from General Washington, and to carry them to New York, there enlist as many seamen as he could, and then return to New London, to take in from the hospital all the seamen that had been left there by the squadron, and were recovered, and carry them to Providence.

"Captain Jones soon performed these services; and having hove down the sloop and partly fitted her for war at Providence, he received orders from the commander-in-chief, dated Rhode Island, June 10th, 1776, to come immediately down to take a sloop then in sight, armed for war, belonging to the enemy's navy. Captain Jones obeyed orders with alacrity; but the enemy had disappeared before he reached Newport.

"On the 13th of June, 1776, Captain Jones received orders, dated that day at Newport, Rhode Island, from the commander-in-chief, to proceed to Newburyport to take under convoy some vessels bound for Philadelphia; but first to convoy Lieutenant Hacket in the Fly, with a cargo of cannon, into the sound for New York, and to convoy some vessels back from Stonington to the entrance of Newport.

"In performing these last services, Captain Jones found great difficulty from the enemy's frigates, then cruising round Block Island, with which he had several rencontres; in one of which he saved a brigantine that was a stranger, from Hispaniola, closely pursued by the Cerberus, and laden with public military stores. That brigantine was afterwards purchased by the Continent, and called the Hampden.

"Captain Jones received orders from the commander-in-chief to proceed for Boston instead of Newburyport. At Boston he was detained a considerable time by the backwardness of the agent. He arrived with his convoy from Boston, safe in the Delaware, the 1st of August, 1776. This service was performed while the enemy were arriving daily at Sandy Hook from Halifax and England, under the escort and protection of Lord Howe, and Captain Jones saw several of their ships of war which he had the address to avoid.

"Captain Jones received a captain's commission under the United States of America, from the president of Congress the 8th of August."

CHAPTER III.

CAPTAIN JONES' SERVICE.

CONTINUING his journal written for the perusal of the king of France, Jones writes:

"It was proposed to Captain Jones by the Marine Committee of Congress to go to Connecticut, to command the brigantine Hampden; but he, choosing rather to remain in the sloop Providence, had orders to go out on a cruise against the enemy 'for six weeks, or two or three months.'

"He was not limited to any particular station or service. He left the Delaware the 21st of August, and arrived at Rhode Island on the 7th of October, 1776. Captain Jones had only seventy men when he sailed from the Delaware, and the Providence mounted only 12 four-pounders.

"Near the latitude of Bermudas he had a very narrow escape from the enemy's frigate, the Solebay, after a chase and an engagement for six hours within cannon-shot, and considerable part of that time within pistol-shot.

"Afterwards, near the isle of Sable, Captain Jones had a running fight with the enemy's frigate the Milford; and the firing between them lasted from ten in the morning till after sunset.

"The day after this rencontre, Captain Jones entered the harbor of Canso, where he recruited several men, took the Tories' flags, destroyed all the fishery, burned the shipping, and sailed again the next morning on an expedition against the Island of Madame.

"He made two descents at the principal ports of that island at the same time; surprised, burned, and destroyed all their shipping, and the fishery, though the place abounded with men, and they had arms.

"All this, from the Delaware to Rhode Island, was performed in six weeks and five days; in which time Captain Jones made sixteen prizes, besides a great number of small vessels and fishery which he destroyed.

"The commander-in-chief of the navy was at Rhode Island, who, in consequence of the information given him by Captain Jones, adopted an expedition against the coal fleet of Cape Breton and the fishery, as well as to relieve a number of Americans from the coal mines, where they were compelled to labor by the enemy.

"The Alfred had remained idle ever since the Providence expedition, and was without men. It was proposed to employ that ship, the brigantine Hampden, and sloop Providence, on this expedition, under the command of Captain Jones, who had orders given him for that purpose on the 22d of October, 1776, and then removed from the sloop Providence to command the ship Alfred.

"Finding he could not enlist a sufficient number of men for the three to sail before the season would be

lost, Captain Jones determined to leave the sloop Providence behind; but Captain Hacker ran the Hampden upon a ledge of rocks on the 27th, and knocked off her keel, which obliged Captain Jones to remove him into the sloop Providence.

"The Alfred and Providence sailed together on this expedition the 2d of November, 1776, Captain Jones having only 140 men on his muster-roll for the Alfred, though that ship had 235 men when she left the Delaware. Captain Jones passed between the enemies' frigates at Block Island and the shore, and anchored for the night at Tarpawling Cove, near Nantucket, because daylight was necessary to pass through the shoals.

"Finding there a privateer schooner belonging to Rhode Island inward bound, he sent his boat to search for deserters from the navy. His officers found four deserters carefully concealed on board. They were taken on board the Alfred, with a few other seamen, agreeably to orders from the commander-in-chief. Those concerned in the privateer brought an action against Captain Jones for 10,000 pounds damages, and the commander-in-chief had the politeness not to support him.

"Captain Jones proceeded on his expedition. Off Louisbourg he took a brig with a rich cargo of dry goods, a scow with a cargo of fish, and a large ship called the Mellish, bound for Canada, armed for war, and laden with soldiers' clothing. The day after taking these prizes (18th November) the snow fell, and the wind blew fresh off Cape Breton.

"To prevent separation, and not from the violence of the weather, Captain Jones made the signal to lay to, which was obeyed; but as soon as night began, Captain Hacker bore away. He made shift to arrive at Rhode Island a day or two before the place was taken by the enemy.

"Captain Jones ordered his prizes, the brigantine and the scow, to steer for American ports; but determined not to lose sight of the Mellish, unless in case of necessity. After a little gale and some contrary winds, he fell in with Canso, and sent his boats in to destroy a fine transport that lay aground in the entrance, laden with Irish provision. The party burnt also the oil-warehouse, and destroyed the materials for the whale and cod fishery.

"Off Louisbourg, on the 24th of November, he took three fine ships out of the coal-fleet, then bound for New York, under the convoy of the frigate Flora, that would have been in sight had the fog been dispersed. Two days after this, Captain Jones took a strong letter-of-marque ship with a rich cargo, from Liverpool.

"He had now a hundred and fifty prisoners on board the Alfred, and a great part of his water and provisions was consumed. He found by his prisoners that the harbor at the coal-mines was frozen up, and necessity obliged him to seek a hospitable port with the five prize-ships under his convoy.

"No separation took place till the 7th of December, on the edge of St. George's Bank, where Captain Jones again fell in with the Milford frigate. Cap-

tain Jones drew the whole attention of the enemy toward the Alfred, and by running the greatest risk himself, saved all his prizes except the letter-of-marque from Liverpool, and she would not have been taken had not the prize-master, who was three leagues to windward, foolishly run down under the Milford's face.

"The Mellish arrived safe with the clothing at Dartmouth, and Captain Jones, after meeting with much tempestuous weather, arrived at Boston the 15th of December, 1776, having only two days' water and provisions left. The news of the supply of clothing reached General Washington's army just before he re-crossed the Delaware, and took the enemy's garrison at Trenton.

"By a letter from the commander-in-chief of the Navy, dated on board the Warren, at Providence, January 14th, 1777, Captain Jones was superseded in the command of the Alfred, in favor of Captain Hinman.

"Captain Jones paid off the crews of the Alfred and Providence, for which he was not reimbursed until the end of the war, and then without any interest.

"On the 18th of February he received an appointment by order of Congress from the Hon. Robert Morris, Esq., Vice-President of the Marine Committee, dated Philadelphia, February the 5th, 1777, to command private expeditions against Pensacola and other places, with the Alfred, Columbus, Cabot, Hampden, and sloop Providence. Many important

schemes were pointed out; but Captain Jones was left at free liberty to adopt whatever he thought best.

"This appointment fell to nothing; for the commander-in-chief would not assist, but affected to disbelieve in the appointment. Captain Jones made a journey by land from Boston to Philadelphia, in order to explain matters to Congress in person."

There are two other documents written by Jones, recapitulating in a much more summary manner the events of the cruises in which he was engaged during the time passed over in the foregoing extract. One of these is a letter or memorial, addressed to the President of Congress, written from the Texel, December 7th, 1779, which he elsewhere styles "a refreshing memorial;" the other, a letter addressed to Mr. Morris, Minister of the Marine, etc., dated Philadelphia, October 13th, 1783.

The narrative drawn up for the king of France is by far the most precise; on which account it has been introduced. It will be necessary, however, to revert to some of its details, for the purposes of illustrating the circumstances it records, and explaining the subsequent passages in the history of Jones.

The affair with the Glasgow is briefly alluded to. Jones felt that no glory was gained by it, and such was the, perhaps, unreasonable opinion of the American public at the time. Commodore Hopkins alleged in his justification that, if he had pursued the escaping frigate, it might have brought him into an engagement with the whole of Wallace's fleet, then

committing great depredation on the coast of Rhode Island.

As Jones observes, it was the business of the commander and captains to answer for the escape of the frigate; yet a sensibility, not unallied, perhaps, to a premature and morbid apprehension that censure would light upon himself, caused him always to speak of this affair as if his personal conduct stood in need of exculpation.

In the letter to the President of Congress, last referred to, Jones says: "I continued in that ship (the Alfred), and had my share of the dishonor which attended the first essay of American arms by sea with the Glasgow. Permit me, however, to observe that, as I was stationed to command the lower battery of the Alfred, I had no share in the government of the sails or helm; and as the artillery under my direction was well served, whenever it could be brought to bear, I hope Congress will not find that the disgrace of that night was owing to me."

Writing to Mr. Hewes, shortly after the transaction, he says: "My station confined me to the Alfred's lower gun-deck, where I commanded during the action; yet, though the commander's letter, which has been published, says, 'all the officers in the Alfred behaved well,' still the public blames me among others for not taking the enemy. But a little consideration will place the matter in a true light; but no officer, under a superior, who does not stand charged, by that superior, for cowardice or misconduct, can be blamed on any occasion whatever."

It is to be observed that, while thus disavowing any responsibility, as a subaltern, Jones by no means imputes blame to Commodore Hopkins. He says, in his letter to Mr. Hewes: "I have the pleasure of assuring you that the commander-in-chief is respected throughout the fleet; and I verily believe that the officers and men, in general, would go to any length to execute his orders." In the same letter he refers to the minutes of the action with the Glasgow, as entered by himself on the Alfred's log-book:

"At 2 A.M. cleared ship for action. At half-past two the Cabot, being between us and the enemy, began to engage, and soon after we did the same. At the third glass, the enemy bore away, and by crowding sail at length got a considerable way ahead, made signals for the rest of the English fleet at Rhode Island to come to her assistance, and steered directly for the harbor. The commodore then thought it imprudent to risk our prizes by pursuing farther; therefore, to prevent our being decoyed into their hands, at half-past six made the signal to leave off chase and haul by the wind to join our prizes. The Cabot was disabled at the second broadside; the captain being dangerously wounded, the master and several men killed. The enemy's whole fire was then directed at us, and an unlucky shot having carried away our wheel-block and ropes, the ship broached to, and gave the enemy an opportunity of raking us with several broadsides before we were again in condition to steer the ship and return the

fire. In the action we received several shot under water, which made the ship very leaky; we had, besides, the mainmast shot through, and the upper works and the rigging very considerably damaged; yet it is surprising that we only lost the second lieutenant of Marines and four men, one of whom (Martin Gillingwater) was a midshipman, prisoner, who was in the cockpit, and had been taken in the bomb brig Bolton yesterday; we had no more than three men dangerously and four slightly wounded."

In the 87th number of the "Constitutional Gazette," published in New York, May 29th, 1776, is a statement of Captain David Hawley, who had arrived at Hartford, from Halifax, whence he had escaped, having been a prisoner on board the Glasgow during the skirmish in question. He says that, "on the —th of April, the Glasgow sailed from Newport; came up and hailed the brig, who answered that they were from Plymouth; then the brig hailed the Glasgow, and was told who they were. Upon signals being made and not answered, as it was still dark, the Glasgow received a heavy broadside from the brig, killed one man, and slightly wounded another. Then the Alfred came up, and closely engaged her for near three glasses, while the black brig attacked the Glasgow on her lee bow. It was observed by the motion of the Alfred, that she had received some unlucky shot. The sloop of twelve guns fired upon her stern without any great effect. The most of her shot went about six feet above the deck; whereas, if they had been properly

leveled, they must soon have cleared it of men. The Glasgow got at a distance, when she fired smartly; and the engagement lasted about six glasses, when they both seemed willing to quit. The Glasgow was considerably damaged in her hull; had ten shot through her mainsail, and eighty-eight through her foresail; had her spars carried away, and her rigging cut to pieces. On the 6th they got into Rhode Island; early in the morning of the 7th, were fired upon from the shore, cut her cables, and run up to Hope Island, where the hospital ship followed them. The wind shifting to the northward, they went out and joined Commodore Wallace, and after two days sailed for Halifax, where Captain Hawley tarried a fortnight, and on the 7th of April, made his escape with eight others, in a small boat, and came to Old York."

The seventy-fifth number of the same newspaper, of April 17th, 1776, contains the following account under date of Newport, April 8th, which throws light upon the result of the affair with the Glasgow, and from its quaintness may not be uninteresting.

"Last Friday the ministerial fleet went a little without the mouth of our harbor, and in the evening they all returned and anchored between Gould Island and Coddington's Point, except the Glasgow, of twenty-four guns, and a small tender, which kept out all night. As soon as it was light, the next morning, a party of the troops stationed on the island got down two of their eighteen-pounders upon

the point, and played so well upon these worse than Algerine rovers, that they hulled the Rose two or three times, the Nautilus once or twice, and sent a shot through and through one of the armed tenders, upon which Captain Wallace, of the Rose, sent off a boat to cut away the buoy of his anchor, then slipped his cable, and made off as fast as possible; and the rest of his fleet followed in the utmost hurry and confusion, having fired about fifteen cannon upon our people without the least effect, though they stood in considerable numbers, as open as they could well be, without the least breastwork or other shelter.

"For several hours before, and during, the above engagement, a vast number of cannon were heard from the southeast and about sunrise eight or ten sail of ships, brigs, etc., were seen a little to the eastward of Block Island, and indeed the flashes of the cannon were seen by some people about daybreak. These things caused much speculation, but in a few hours the mystery was somewhat cleared up, for away came the poor Glasgow, under all the sail she could set, yelping from the mouths of her cannon like a broken-legged dog, as a signal of her being sadly wounded. And though she settled away, and handed most of her sails just before she came into the harbor, it was plainly perceived by the holes in those she had standing, and by the hanging of her yards, that she had been treated in a very rough manner. The other vessels seen off stood up the western sound, and by very authentic intelligence

on Saturday evening, we are fully convinced they were twelve sail of the Continental navy, very deeply laden with cannon, mortars, cannon-shot, bombs, and other warlike stores from the West Indies, so that it is probable their precious cargoes were the sole cause of Mrs. Glasgow's making her escape. Her tender was taken, as also the bomb brig, and a schooner which had been out near a week in search of prey.

"As soon as the Glasgow got in, the Rose, Captain Wallace, the Nautilus, Captain Collins, the Swan, Captain Ascough, with several tenders and pirated prizes, stood out to sea, leaving the Glasgow, a large scow, and two small sloops at anchor, about three-quarters of a mile fron Brenton's point. The ensuing night, a party of troops carried one eighteen-pounder, one nine, one six, and two four-pounders, on said point, and early yesterday morning saluted the Glasgow with such warmth that she slipped her cable and pushed up the river without firing a gun, under all the sail she could make, and the others followed with great precipitation. By the terrible cracking on board the Glasgow, the noise and confusion among her men, it is thought the cannon did good execution. The wind shifting to the northward about noon, those vessels ran down the back of Conanicut and stood out to sea, supposed to have gone in quest of Captain Wallace, to make a woful complaint of the incivility of the Yankees."

The adventure with the Glasgow cannot, from the evidence now left, be considered as discreditable to

the infant navy of America. The promotion of Jones by the commander-in-chief of the navy, to be acting commandant of the Providence, proves, as he states himself, that the officer under whose immediate command he had served, approved of his conduct.

While conveying military stores and troops between Newport and New York, he appears from his journal to have had several rencontres with the Cerberus frigate and with others.

In his "refreshing memorial" to the President of Congress, written from the Texel, he says, when speaking of this period of his service:

"The first task I performed in the Providence was to transport a number of soldiers from Providence to New York, which General Washington had lent us at New London to inspire us with courage to venture round to Rhode Island.

"The Commodore employed me afterwards for some time to escort vessels from Rhode Island into the Sound, etc., while the Cerberus and other vessels cruised round Block Island. At last I received orders to proceed to Boston, to take under convoy some vessels laden with coal for Philadelphia. I performed that service about the time when Lord Howe arrived at Sandy Hook. It was proposed to send me from Philadelphia by land to take command of the Hampden in Connecticut, but I preferred to continue in the Providence, the Hampden being a far inferior vessel to the description that had been given of her to Congress."

He was commissioned to sail from the Delaware on a cruise "with unlimited orders," as he expressed it in his memorial; and this was certainly the sort of trust which he best loved to execute. Some extracts from his letters to the marine committee of Congress, relative to his adventurers in this cruise of "six weeks and five days," so briefly mentioned in his journal, will probably be acceptable to the reader.

"PROVIDENCE, at sea, in N. Lat. 37° 40′.
S. W. Longitude, 54°, *Sept. 4th*, 1776.

"GENTLEMEN,—

"I had the honor of writing to you August 27th, per the brigantine Britannia, which I sent under the care of Lieutenant Wm. Grinnell. Since that, I have been to the southward, near the parallel of Bermuda, and brought to four sail of French, Spanish, and Danish ships, homeward bound, but without gaining any useful information. On the first current I fell in with a fleet of five sail, one of them being very large, it was the general opinion here, that she was either an Old Indiaman, outward bound, with stores, or a Jamaica three-decker, bound homewards. We found her to be an English frigate, mounting twenty guns upon one deck. She sailed fast, and pursued us by the wind, till, after four hours' chase, the sea running very cross, she got within musket shot of our lee-quarter. As they had continued firing at us from the first, without showing colors, I now ordered ours to be hoisted, and began to fire at

them. Upon this, they also hoisted American colors, and fired guns to leeward. But the bait would not take, for, having everything prepared, I bore away before the wind, and set all our light sail at once; so that before her sails could be trimmed, and steering sails set, I was almost out of reach of grape, and soon after out of reach of cannon shot. Our 'hair-breadth escape,' and the saucy manner of making it, must have mortified him not a little. Had he foreseen this motion, and been prepared to counteract it, he might have fired several broadsides of double-headed and grape shot, which would have done us very material damage. But he was a bad marksman; and, though within pistol shot, did not touch the Providence with one of the many shots he fired. I met with no other adventure till last night, when I took the Bermuda-built brigantine Sea Nymph, etc."

He concludes this letter by observing that he did not expect much success in his cruise, as it was too late for the season; a remark which he repeats in his next letter, dated three days after, when sending in the brigantine Favorite laden with sugar, from Antigua, for Liverpool, which he had captured on the evening of September 6th, being his third prize.

The following characteristic letter, giving an account of the manner in which he "ridicules" the Milford frigate and took or destroyed the shipping in Canso harbor, seems worthy of being inserted entire:

"PROVIDENCE, off the Isle of Sable,
September 30th, 1776.

"GENTLEMEN,—

"From that time of despatching the Favorite, I cruised without seeing any vessel. I then spoke the Columbus' prize, the ship Royal Exchange, bound for Boston. By this time, my water and wood began to run short, which induced me to run to the northward, for some port of Nova Scotia or Cape Breton. I had, besides, a prospect of destroying the English shipping in these parts. The 16th and 17th, I had a very heavy gale from the N. W. which obliged me to dismount all my guns, and stick everything I could into the hold. The 19th, I made the Isle of Sable, and on the 20th, being between it and the main, I met with an English frigate, with a merchant ship under her convoy. I had hove to, to give my people an opportunity of taking fish, when the frigate came in sight directly to windward, and was so good-natured as to save me the trouble of chasing him, by bearing down the instant he discovered us. When he came within cannon-shot, I made sail to try his speed. Quartering and finding that I had the advantage, I shortened sail to give him a wild-goose chase, and tempt him to throw away powder and shot. Accordingly, a curious mock engagement was maintained between us for eight hours; until night, with her sable curtains, put an end to this famous exploit of English knight-errantry.

"He excited my contempt so much by his con-

tinued firing, at more than twice the proper distance, that when he rounded to to give his broadside, I ordered my marine officer to return the salute with only a single musket. We saw him, next morning, standing to the westward; and it is not unlikely that he hath told his friends at Halifax what a trimming he gave to a 'rebel privateer' which he found infesting the coast.

"That night I was off Canso harbor, and sent my boat in to gain information. On the morning of the 22d, I anchored in the harbor, and, before night, got off a sufficiency of wood and water. Here I recruited several men, and finding three English schooners in the harbor, we that night burned one, sunk another, and, in the morning, carried off the third, which we had loaded with what fish was found in the other two.

"At Canso, I received information of nine sail of ships, brigs, and schooners, in the harbor of Narrow Shock and Peter de Great, at a small distance from each other, in the Island of Madame, on the east side of the bay of Canso. These I determined to take or destroy; and, to do it effectually, having brought a shallop for the purpose from Canso, I despatched herewith twenty-five armed men to Narrow Shock, while my boat went, well manned and armed, to Peter de Great; and I kept off and on with the sloop, to keep them in awe at both places. The expedition succeeded to my wish. So effectual was this surprise, and so general the panic, that numbers yielded to a handful, without opposition,

and never was a bloodless victory more complete. As the shipping that were unloaded were all unrigged, I had recourse to an expedient for despatch. I promised to leave the late proprietors vessels sufficient to carry them home to the Island of Jersey, on condition that they immediately fitted out and rigged such of the rest as might be required. This condition was readily complied with; and they assisted my people with unremitting application, till the business was completed. But the evening of the 25th brought with it a violent gale of wind, with rain, which obliged me to anchor in the entrance of Narrow Shock, where I rode it out, with both anchors and whole cables ahead. Two of our prizes, the ship Alexander and Sea Flower, had come out before the gale began. The ship anchored under a point, and rode it out; but the schooner, after anchoring, drove, and ran ashore. She was a valuable prize; but, as I could not get her off, I next day ordered her to be set on fire. The schooner Ebenezer, taken at Canso, was driven on a reef of sunken rocks, and there totally lost; the people having with difficulty saved themselves on a raft. Towards noon on the 26th, the gale began to abate. The ship Adventure being unrigged, and almost empty, I ordered her to be burnt. I put to sea in the afternoon with the brigantine Kingston Packet, and being joined by the Alexander, went off Peter de Great. I had sent an officer round in a shallop to order the vessels in that harbor to meet me in the offing, and he now joined me in the brigantine Suc-

cess, and informed me that Mr. Gallagher (the officer who had commanded the party in that harbor) had left it at the beginning of the gale in the brigantine Defense, and taken with him my boat and all the people. I am unwilling to believe that this was done with an evil intention. I rather think he concluded the boat and people necessary to assist the vessel getting out, the navigation being difficult, and the wind at that time unfavorable; and when the gale began, I knew it was impossible for them to return.

"Thus weakened, I could attempt nothing more. With one of our brigs and the sloop, I could have scoured the coast and secured the destruction of a large boat fleet that was loading near Louisbourg, with the savage only to protect them.

"The fishery at Canso and Madame is effectually destroyed. Out of twelve sail which I took there, I only left two small schooners and one small brig, to convey a number of unfortunate men, not short of three hundred, across the Western Ocean. Had I gone further, I should have stood chargeable with inhumanity.

"In my ticklish situation it would have been madness to lose a moment. I therefore hastened to the southward, to convey my prizes out of harm's way, the Damono brig having been within fifteen leagues of the scene of action during the whole time.

"On the 27th, I saw two sail, which we took for Quebec transports. Unable to resist the temptation, having appointed a three days' rendezvous on

the S. W. part of the Isle of Sable, I gave chase, but could not come up before they had got into Louisbourg, a place where I had reason to expect a far superior force; and therefore returned, and this day I joined my prizes at the rendezvous.

"If my poor endeavors should meet with your approbation, I shall be greatly rewarded in the pleasing reflection of having endeavored to do my duty. I have had so much of stormy weather, and been obliged on divers occasions, to carry so much sail, that the sloop is in no condition to continue long out of port. I am, besides, very weak handed; and the men I have are scarce able to stand on deck, for want of clothing, the weather here being very cold. These reasons induce me to bend my thoughts towards the continent. I do not expect to meet with much, if any success, on my return. But if fortune should insist on sending a transport or so in my way, weak as I am, I will endeavor to pilot him safe. It is but justice to add, that my officers and men behaved incomparably well on the occasion.

"I have the honor to be, etc. etc.,
"JOHN P. JONES.

"THE HONORABLE THE MARINE COMMITTEE,
PHILADELPHIA."

The following is the list of prizes, taken, burnt, and sunk by Jones during this cruise: Brigantine Britannia, Whaler; Brigantine Sea Nymph, West Indies; Brigantine Favorite, West Indies; Ship

Alexander, Newfoundland; Brigantine Success, Newfoundland; Brigantine Kingston Packet, Jamaica; Brigantine Defiance, Jersey; Sloop Portland, Whaler. The above named were manned and sent in. Ship Adventure, Jersey; Brigantine Friendship, Jersey; Schooner John, London; Schooner Betsy, Jersey; Schooner Betsy, Halifax; Schooner Sea Flower, Canso; Schooner Ebenezer, Canso; Schooner Hope, Jersey.

CHAPTER IV.

A COMPLAINT.

One of the objects of the expedition to Cape Breton, that of rescuing the hundred American prisoners confined in the coal pits, was not effected; and other projects were abandoned, from the lateness of the season, and the difficulty of procuring men. Jones indeed met with more success than he had anticipated, as will be seen from the following extract of his letter written to Mr. Morris, and dated October 17th.

"I have been successfully employed in refitting and getting the Providence in readiness, and am under the greatest apprehension that the expedition will fall to nothing, as the Alfred is greatly short of men. I found her with only about thirty men, and we have with much ado enlisted thirty more; but it seems the privateers entice them away as fast as they receive their month's pay.

"Governor Hopkins tells me that he apprehends that I am appointed to the Andrew Doria; she is a good cruiser, and would, in my judgment, answer much better, were she mounted with 12 six-pounders, than as she is at present, with 14 fours. An expedition of importance may be effected this

winter, on the coast of Africa, with part of the original fleet. Either the Alfred or Columbus, with the Andrew Doria and Providence, would, I am persuaded, carry all before them; and give a blow to the English African trade which would not soon be recovered, by not leaving them a mast standing on that coast. This expedition would be attended with no great expense; besides, the ship and vessels mentioned are unfit for service on a winter coast, which is not the case with the new frigates. The small squadron for this service ought to sail early, that the prizes may reach our ports in March or April. If I do not succeed in manning the Alfred, so as to proceed to the eastward, in the course of this week, the season will be lost; the coal fleet will be gone to Halifax, the fishermen to Europe."

This cruise, however, of Jones, from Rhode Island, was attended with many useful and some brilliant results. The capture, in particular, of the clothing in the Mellish, while it furnished a seasonable supply to the American army, was a serious privation to that of the enemy. In his letter to the Marine Committee dated November 12th, Jones says:

"This prize is, I believe, the most valuable that has been taken by the American arms. She made some defense, but it was trifling. The loss will distress the enemy more than can be easily imagined, as the clothing on board of her is the last intended to be sent out for Canada this season, and all that has preceded it is already taken. The situation of

Burgoyne's army must soon become insupportable. I shall not lose sight of a prize of such importance, but will sink her, rather than suffer her to fall again into their hands."

His account of his second meeting with the Milford, given in the memorial from the Texel, is as follows:

"On the edge of St. George's Bank, I again met with the Milford. The wind was at N. W., the enemy to windward, and we on our starboard tack. He could not come up before night; and, in the meantime, I placed the Alfred and the letter-of-marque from Liverpool between the other prizes and the enemy. I ordered them to crowd sail on the same tack all night, without paying regard to my light or signals. At midnight, the Alfred and the letter-of-marque tacked, and I afterwards carried a top light till morning.

"This led the Milford entirely out of the way of the prizes, and particularly the clothing ship Mellish; for they were all out of sight in the morning. I had now to get out of the difficulty the best way I could. In the morning we again tacked; and as the Milford did not make much appearance, I was unwilling to quit her, without a certainty of her superior force. She was out of shot, on the lee quarter; and as I could only see her bow, I ordered the letter-of-marque, Lieutenant Saunders, that held a much better wind than the Alfred, to drop slowly astern, until he could discover by a view of

the enemy's side, whether she was of superior or inferior force, and to make a signal accordingly.

"On seeing Mr. Saunders drop astern, the Milford wore suddenly, and crowded sail towards the N. E. This raised in me such doubts as determined me to wear also, and give chase. Mr. Saunders steered by the wind, while the Milford went lasking, and the Alfred followed her with a pressed sail, so that Mr. Saunders was soon almost hull down to windward. At last the Milford tacked again; but I did not tack the Alfred till I had the enemy's side fairly open, and could plainly see her force. I then tacked, about ten o'clock.

"The Alfred being too light to be steered by the wind, I bore away two points, while the Milford steered close by the wind, to gain the Alfred's wake; and by that means he dropped astern, notwithstanding his superior sailing. The weather too, which became exceedingly squally, enabled me to outdo the Milford, by carrying more sail. I began to be under no apprehension from the enemy's superiority, for there was every appearance of a severe gale, which really took place in the night. To my great surprise, however, Mr. Saunders, towards four o'clock, bore down on the Milford, made the signal of her inferior force, ran under her lee, and was taken!"

The delay experienced by Captain Jones at Boston, where he arrived with his prize, in getting rid of his prisoners and being delivered, as he phrases it, from the "honorable office of a jail-keeper,"—the inaction

in which he was obliged to remain for want of a command,—the neglect of Commodore Hopkins, from unwillingness or inability, to tender him any assistance,—and his being superseded in the command of the Alfred by the orders of that officer, were circumstances of an irritating character, which drew from him many letters of indignant remonstrance.

Writing to the commodore on the 28th of February, he says : "It is only necessary for me to inform you, as I have already done, that I am appointed by a letter from the Honorable the Vice-President of the Marine Board, dated the 5th current, to take command of the Alfred, Columbus, Cabot, Hampden, and sloop Providence, and to call on you for every possible assistance within your power, to enable me to proceed forthwith on a private enterprise, of the greatest importance to America. The letter has the sanction and full authority of Congress. It is written in their name. Therefore, sir, I repeat my application, and demand your hearty and immediate concurrence with me in the outfit. It is in vain for you to affect to disbelieve my appointment.

"I should have appeared personally at Providence, had you justified my conduct in obeying your express orders, instead of leaving me, as you have done, in the lurch.* I could then have convinced you of

*This refers to the action commenced against Jones for damages, by the men taken from the Rhode Island privateer. Commodore Hopkins left him to defend the suit himself, saying that his orders had not been given in writing.

its being your indispensable duty to give me every possible assistance. When I placed a confidence in you, I did not think you capable of prevarication. I then, when you needed friends, gave you the most convincing proof of my sincerity. This you must remember. I have asked Captain Saltonstall how he could in the beginning suspect me, as you have told me, of being unfriendly to America. He seemed astonished at the question; and told me it was yourself who prompted it. However, waiving everything of a private nature, the best way is to co-operate cheerfully together, that the public service may be forwarded, and that scorn may yet forbear to point her finger at a fleet under your command. I am earnest in desiring to do everything with good nature. Therefore to remove your doubts, if you have any, I send this by express, to inform you that I will meet you at Pawtucket, or at any other place, on as early a day as you please to appoint, and will there produce credentials to your satisfaction. In the meantime, it is your duty to prevent the departure of the Cabot, or any other vessel of the squadron. I am astonished to hear that you have ordered the Hampden out, without desiring an explanation, after you received my last letters. My appointment was unsolicited and unexpected, and it must be owing to the hurry of business that you have received no similar orders. I am, honored sir, your very obliged, most humble servant,

"J. P. Jones.

"P. S. I have sent by the bearer the coat which you desired, likewise one for Mr. Brown. If I can render you any service here, in procuring other articles, acquaint me with the particulars, and my best endeavors shall not be wanting."

The mixture of conciliatory overtures with the peremptory language of this epistle, shows that personal pique was tempered with a predominating desire to serve the cause of the country at all sacrifices. It may be remarked, in passing, that Commodore Hopkins had been ordered to be censured by the sentence of a Court Martial; and that when the rank and station of the commanders of the navy was determined by Congress, his name was omitted.

In relation to the manner in which Jones was superseded, as he conceived himself to have been, by junior officers, he has given a full account in his letter addressed to Mr. Morris from Philadelphia in 1783, the whole of which document is given in the appendix numbered I. It was an arrangement of which he never ceased to complain, and as the facts stated by him are uncontradicted, it seems that he had good reasons for so doing.

Three grades of lieutenants were established by the act of Congress of December 22d, 1775. Jones was at the head of the first. At this time it is true that Congress had not granted general letters of reprisal, nor had the allegiance of the colonies to the British crown been renounced. After the Declaration of Independence, the organization of the

navy could only properly take place, and the rank of its officers be settled, as Congress in its wisdom should determine. Still a regard was due to meritorious services, and to former precedence, where the imperfect right was supported by them.

The appointment of Jones to command the Providence as Captain, by the commander-in-chief of the fleet, Commodore Hopkins, though it cannot be considered as establishing his rank, was entitled to respect. On the 8th of August, 1776, he received an appointment as Captain, under the United States, from President Hancock.

Congress had passed a resolution on the 17th of April preceding, that "the nomination or appointment of captains or commanders should not establish rank, which should be settled before commissions were granted;" and it was not until the 10th of October following, that by another resolution they settled the delicate and embarrassing question. But Jones conceived, as it was natural he should, that the date of his appointment ought not to have been wholly overlooked, and fairly entitled him to priority over those who were commissioned as captains, for the first time, on the 10th of October. In what terms that appointment was couched cannot be ascertained, as it appears it was mislaid by President Hancock, who had requested Jones to leave it with him for a day or two. In the eloquent argument made for himself by the latter, in the remonstrance in the appendix to which we refer, he

evidently confounds occasionally the terms appointment and commission.

On this subject he thus wrote to the Marine Board at Philadelphia:

"I am now to inform you, that by a letter from Commodore Hopkins, dated on board the Warren, January 14th, 1777, which came to my hands a day or two ago, I am superseded in the command of the Alfred, in favor of Captain Hinman, and ordered back to the sloop in Providence River. Whether this order doth or doth not supersede also your orders to me of the 10th ult., you can best determine; however, as I undertook the late expedition at his (Commodore Hopkins') request, from a principle of humanity, I mean not now to make a difficulty about trifles, especially when the good of the service is to be consulted. As I am unconscious of any neglect of duty, or misconduct, since my appointment at the first as eldest lieutenant of the navy, I cannot suppose that you can have intended to set me aside, in favor of any man who did not at that time bear a captain's commission, unless indeed that man, by exerting his superior abilities, hath rendered or can render more important services to America. Those who stepped forth at the first, in ships altogether unfit for war, were generally considered as frantic rather than as wise men; for it must be remembered that almost everything then made against them. And, although the success in the affair with the Glasgow was not equal to what

it might have been, yet the blame ought not to be general. The principal or principals in command alone are culpable; and the other officers, while they stand unimpeached, have their full merit. There were, it is true, divers persons, from misrepresentation, put into commission at the beginning, without fit qualification, and perhaps the number may have been increased by later appointments; but it follows not that the gentleman or man of merit should be neglected or overlooked on their account. None other than a gentleman, as well as a seaman both in theory and practise, is qualified to support the character of a commissioned officer in the navy; nor is any man fit to command a ship of war who is not also capable of communicating ideas on paper in language that becomes his rank. If this be admitted, the foregoing operations will be sufficiently clear; but if further proof is required, it can easily be produced.

"When I entered into the service, I was not actuated by motives of self-interest. I stepped forth as a free citizen of the world, in defense of the violated rights of mankind, and not in search of riches, whereof, I thank God, I inherit a sufficiency; but I should prove my degeneracy were I not in the highest degree tenacious of my rank and seniority. As a gentleman, I can yield this point up only to persons of superior abilities and superior merit; and under such persons it would be my highest ambition to learn. As this is the first time of my having expressed the least anxiety on my own account, I must

entreat your patience until I account to you for the reason which hath given me this freedom of sentiment. It seems that Captain Hinman's commission is No. I, and that, in consequence, he who was at first my junior officer by eight hath expressed himself as my senior officer in a manner which doth himself no honor, and which doth me signal injury. There are also in the navy persons who have not shown me fair play after the service I have rendered them. I have even been blamed for the civilities which I have shown to my prisoners; at the request of one of whom I herein enclose an appeal, which I must beg leave to lay before Congress. Could you see the appellant's accomplished lady, and the innocents, their children, arguments in their behalf would be unnecessary. As the base-minded only are capable of inconsistencies, you will not blame my free soul, which can never stoop where I cannot also esteem. Could I, which I never can, bear to be superseded, I should indeed deserve your contempt and total neglect. I am therefore to entreat you to employ me in the most enterprising and active service,—accountable to your Honorable Board only, for my conduct, and connected as much as possible with gentlemen and men of good sense."

"My conduct hitherto," he says, in the memorial addressed to Congress from the Texal, "was so much approved of by Congress, that on the 5th of February, 1777, I was appointed, with unlimited orders, to command a little squadron of the Alfred, Colum-

bus, Cabot, Hampden, and sloop Providence. Various important services were pointed out, but I was left at free liberty to make my election. This service, however, did not take place; for the Commodore, who had three of the squadron blocked in at Providence, affected to disbelieve my appointment, and would not at last give me the necessary assistance. Finding that he trifled with my applications as well as the orders of Congress, I undertook a journey from Boston to Philadelpia, in order to explain matters to Congress in person. I took this step also because Captan Hinman had succeeded me in the command of the Alfred, and, of course, the service could not suffer through my absence. I arrived at Philadelphia in the beginning of April. But what was my surprise to find that, by a new line of navy rank, which had taken place on the 10th day of October, 1776, all the officers that had stepped forth at the beginning were superseded! I was myself superseded by thirteen men not one of whom did (and perhaps some of them durst not) take the sea against the British flag at the first; for several of them who were then applied to refused to venture,—and none of them have since been very happy in proving their superior abilities. Among these thirteen there are individuals who can neither pretend to parts nor education, and with whom as a private gentleman, I would disdain to associate.

"I leave your Excellency and the Congress to judge how this must affect a man of honor and sensibility.

"I was told by President Hancock, that what gave me so much pain had been the effect only of a multiplicity of business. He acknowledged the injustice of that regulation, said it should make but a nominal, and temporary, difference, and that in the meantime I might assure myself that no navy officer stood in the opinion of Congress higher than myself."

Jones repaired from Boston to Philadelphia, in the beginning of April, 1777. His suggestions as to the proper government of the navy, and his projects, of annoying the enemy, were listened to with respectful attention. Whatever cause he conceived himself to have for complaining of the nominal rank assigned to him, the command which it was first resolved to give him, and that with which he was in the issue entrusted, were calculated to satisfy his sense of what was due to his deserts, and he expressed himself as being highly gratified.

In his Journal, written for the king of France, he says: "The President assured Captain Jones that this matter of rank should be arranged at a future day to his satisfaction, and in the meantime he should have a separate command, etc. Three ships were ordered to be fitted out in the eastern states, and Captain Jones was, by a resolve of Congress, directed to take his choice of them, 'until better provision could be made for him.' Captain Jones spared no pains to execute this last scheme; but before it was well begun, he received an appointment

from the marine and secret committee to proceed to France in the French ship Amphitrite from New Hampshire, with a letter to the American Commissioners at Paris, containing orders to invest him immediately with the command of 'a fine ship' (the Indian, built for America at Amsterdam,) 'as a reward for his zeal, and the important services he had performed, in vessels of little force.' His departure in the Amphitrite did not succeed, because the terms offered the French commander were not accepted."

Speaking of this resolution of Congress, he says elsewhere: "This was generous indeed; and I shall feel the whole force of the obligation to the last moment of my life."

"PHILADELPHIA, *May 9th*, 1777.

"HONORABLE GENTLEMEN—

"This letter is intended to be delivered to you by John Paul Jones, Esq., an active and brave commander in our navy, who has already performed signal services in vessels of little force; and in reward for his zeal we have directed him to go on board the Amphitrite, a French ship of twenty guns, that brought in a valuable cargo of stores from Mons. Hostalez & Co., and with her to repair to France. He takes with him his commission, some officers and men, so that we hope he will, under that sanction, make some good prizes with the Amphitrite;

but our design of sending him is (with the approbation of Congress) that you may purchase one of those fine frigates that Mr. Deane writes us you can get, and invest him with the command thereof as soon as possible. We hope you may not delay this business one moment, but purchase, in such port or place in Europe as it can be done with most convenience and despatch, a fine, fast-sailing frigate or larger ship. Direct Captain Jones where he must repair to, and he will take with him his officers and men towards manning her. You will assign him some good house or agent to supply him with everything necessary to get the ship speedily and well equipped and manned—some body that will bestir themselves vigorously in the business, and never quit it until it is accomplished.

"If you have any plan or service to be performed in Europe by such ship, that you think will be more for the interest and honor of the States than sending her out directly, Captain Jones is instructed to obey your orders; and, to save repetition, let him lay before you the instructions we have given him, and furnish you with a copy thereof. You can then judge what will be necessary for you to direct him in, and whatever you do will be approved, as it will undoubtedly tend to promote the public service of this country.

"You see by this step how much dependence Congress places in your advices; and you must make it a point not to disappoint Cap-

tain Jones' wishes and expectations on this occasion.

"We are, etc.

(Signed) "Robert Morris,
"Richard Henry Lee,
"Wm. Whipple,
"Phil. Livingston.

"The Honorable Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, Esquires, Commissioners," etc.

In Marine Committee.

"Philadelphia, *May 9th*, 1777.

"John Paul Jones, Esq.

"Sir,—Congress has thought proper to authorize the Secret Committee to employ you on a voyage in the Amphitrite, from Portsmouth to Carolina and France, where it is expected you will be provided with a fine frigate; and as your present commission is for the command of a particular ship, we now send you a new one, whereby you are appointed a captain in our navy, and of course may command any ship in the service to which you are particularly ordered. You are to obey the orders of the Secret Committee, and we are, sir, etc.

(Signed) "John Hancock,
"Rob. Morris,
"Wm. Whipple."

In Marine Committee.

"Philadelphia, *September 6th*, 1777.

"SIR,—As soon as these instructions get to hand, you are to make immediate application to the proper persons to get your vessel victualed and fitted for sea with all expedition. When this is done, you are to proceed on a voyage to some convenient port in France; on your arrival there, apply to the agent, if any in or near said port, for such supplies as you may stand in need of. You are at the same time to give immediate notice, by letter, to the Honorable Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, Esquires, or any of them at Paris, of your arrival, requesting their instructions as to your further destination, which instructions you are to obey as far as it shall be in your power.

"You are to take particular notice, that whilst on the coast of France, or in a French port, you are, as much as you conveniently can, to keep your guns covered and concealed, and to make as little warlike appearance as possible. Wishing you," etc., etc.

Jones had recommended, in a letter to a member of Congress, that the Mellish be converted into a ship of war; and the secret committee had passed a resolution to that effect; but the intention was abandoned in consequence of letters from him. On the 14th of June, Congress resolved, "that the flag of the United States should be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white: that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." By another resolution, passed the

same day, Jones was appointed to command the ship Ranger; on board of which he hoisted the national flag for the first time it was displayed on board of a man-of-war, as he had formerly hoisted the colonial one, in the Delaware. (See Appendix No. II.) He began to fit out this vessel in July; but was not ready for sea before the 15th of November following. She was scarcely half rigged when he took charge of her, and much difficulty was experienced in arming and equipping her. He wrote as follows to the Marine Committee on the 29th of October:— "With all my industry I could not get the single suit of sails completed until the 20th current. Since that time the winds and weather have laid me under the necessity of continuing in port. At this time it blows a very heavy gale from the N. E. The ship with difficulty rides it out, with yards and top-mast struck, and whole cables ahead. When it clears up, I expect the wind from the N. W., and shall not fail to embrace it, although I have not now a spare sail, nor materials to make one. Some of those I have are made of Hessings (a coarse, thin stuff). I never before had so disagreeable a service to perform as that which I have now accomplished, and of which another will claim the credit as well as the profit. However, in doing my utmost, I am sensible that I have done no more than my duty. I have now to acknowledge the honor of having received your orders of the 6th ultimo; and that I have before me the pleasing prospect of being the welcome mess-

enger at Paris of the joyful and important news of Burgoyne's surrender. I have received despatches from the Council of Massachusetts, for the commissioner, by express. I shall, therefore, not go out of my course, unless I see a fair opportunity of distressing the enemy, and of rendering services to America."

Twenty-six guns were provided for the Ranger; but Jones wrote that he purposed to carry no more than eighteen six-pounders, as he thought the ship incapable of carrying a greater number so as to be serviceable. He complained that they were all three diameters of the bore too short. He found no difficulty in procuring men, but he was badly provided with stores, having only thirty gallons of rum for his whole crew. With this indifferent armament he sailed from Portsmouth on the first of November, and arrived at Nantes on the 2d of December following. He found the Ranger very crank, owing to the improper quality of her ballast; which induced him on his arrival to shorten her lower masts, and ballast with lead.

The following particulars of his cruise are given in his letter from Nantes to the Marine Committee:

"After passing the Western Islands, I fell in with and brought to a number of ships, but met with no English property, till within eighty leagues of Ushant. I then fell in with a fleet of ten sail with a strong convoy, bound up the channel; but notwithstanding my endeavors, I was unable to detach any of them from the convoy. I took two

brigantines from Malaga with fruit for London. One of the prizes has arrived here. The other, I am now told, is in Quiberon Bay. I arrived here on the 2d current, without having met with any misfortune on the passage, though I met with some very severe weather. Besides the fleet already mentioned, I fell in with several ships in the night; so that I have had agreeable proofs of the active spirit of my officers and men. Though they have not formerly been conversant in the management of ships of war, yet I am persuaded they will behave well, should I have an opportunity of bringing them to action, etc."

He does not mention in this letter the particulars of his meeting with the Invincible, a ship of seventy-four guns, which was giving convoy to a few ships from Gibraltar.

He speaks of the affair in his narrative for the king of France, as a "near rencontre"; and in his letter from Texel, he says, "I could not help chasing the Invincible, by the way."

Determined to attend to the necessary alterations and equipment of the Ranger in person, his first act on arriving at Nantes was to write on the 5th of December to the commissioners of Congress at Paris, — Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee. The following is an extract from the letter:

"I yesterday enclosed you copies of two letters which I wrote you previous to my departure from Portsmouth, together with a plan which I drew up

in Philadelphia, on the regulation and equipment of our infant navy. It is my first and favorite wish to be employed in active and enterprising services, when there is a prospect of rendering acceptable services to America. The singular honor which Congress has done me by their generous acknowledgment of my past services, hath inspired me with sentiments of gratitude which I shall carry with me to my grave; and if a life of services devoted to America can be made instrumental in securing its independence, I shall regard the continuance of such approbation as an honor far superior to what kings even could bestow.

"I am ready to lay before you any orders, which I have received from Congress. At present I take the liberty of enclosing for your inspection a very honorable and unexpected appointment, etc. I have always, since we have had ships of war, been persuaded that small squadrons could be employed to far better advantage on private expeditions, and would distress the enemy infinitely more than the same force could do, by cruising either jointly or separately. Were strict secrecy observed on our part, the enemy have many important places in such a defenseless situation, that they might be effectually surprised and attacked, with no very considerable force. We cannot yet fight their navy; as their numbers and force are so far superior to ours. Therefore it seems to be our most natural province to surprise their defenseless places; and thereby divert their attention, and draw it off from the

coasts. But you see that my honorable correspondent is, and I know that many others are, of the same opinion."

The course here recommended by Jones was the only one which eventually was found feasible. He was soon summoned to Paris by the Commissioners, to consult with them upon the measures to be adopted for annoying the enemy. France was not yet in open hostility with England, nor had the commissioners been recognized as plenipotentiaries. Jones was directed to keep his guns as much concealed as possible while on the French coasts.

He was destined to meet with a serious disappointment, in being obliged to assent to the transfer of the Indian, the "fine ship" of which he had expected to receive the command, and which was building at Amsterdam, to the French Government. Considering the irritability of his character, we do not find that he bore this miscarriage very ungraciously. Congress certainly had intended that he should take command of this vessel, or of one of equal force; and he made their resolution a ground for claiming the rank which such a command would have given him. But he submitted to parting with the Indian with tolerable good humor, as the extracts from his letters will show. This is mentioned, because he has been charged with writing to Congress "in no very modest terms."

In his first despatch from Nantes to the Marine Committee, he says:

"I understand, though I have yet received no letter, that the commissioners had provided for me one of the finest frigates that ever was built; calculated for thirty guns on one deck; and capable of carrying thirty-six pounders; but were under the necessity of giving her up, on account of some difficulties which they met with at court. Perhaps the news of our late successes may now put that court in a better humor. But my unfeigned thanks are equally due for the intention as for the act."

Writing again to the same committee, on the 22d of December, the day after he had received a request from the commissioners to attend them at Paris, he declared his intention to proceed to sea with the Ranger, without loss of time, should there be any delay in obtaining additional force.

In his narrative for the king of France, corrected by himself, in speaking of the "assignment of the property of that famous frigate, the Indian," he has interlined, "with the consent of Captain Jones."

Writing to the Marine Committee subsequently, on the subject, he said:

"Deeply sensible of the honor which Congress has conferred upon me communicated in the orders of the Secret Committee to the commissioners, I can bear the disappointment with philosophy. Yet I confess I was rather hurt, when at Paris, I understood that the new frigate at Amsterdam had never been intended for me, before my appearance, but for the constructor."

After conferring with the commissioners on the various schemes he had to suggest, he returned to Nantes to complete the Ranger's equipments, and on the 16th of January, 1788, he received from them their instructions as to his conduct on the cruise he proposed making. They were as follows, giving him almost unlimited discretion; which he was perfectly willing to assume, though it seems from one of his despatches that he did not understand the commissioners as "promising even to justify him, should he fail in any bold attempt:"

"PARIS, *January* 16*th*, 1788.

"CAPTAIN JONES,

"SIR,—As it is not in our power to procure you such a ship as you expected, we advise you, after equipping the Ranger in the best manner for the cruise you propose, that you proceed with her in the manner you shall judge best for distressing the enemies of the United States, by sea or otherwise, consistent with the laws of war, and the terms of your commissions.". . . "If you make an attempt on the coast of Great Britain we advise you not to return immediately into the ports of France, unless forced by stress of weather, or the pursuit of the enemy; and in such case you can make the proper representation to the officers of the port, and acquaint us with your situation. We rely on your ability, as well as your zeal, to serve the United States, and therefore do not give you particular in-

structions as to your operations. We must caution you against giving any cause of complaint to the subjects of France or Spain, or of other neutral powers; and recommend it to you to show them every proper mark of respect, and real civility, which may be in your power."

Mr. Arthur Lee did not approve of a part of these instructions, directing the sale of the prizes to be entrusted to other hands than those of the commercial agents. He expressed his want of confidence in Mr. Gourlade, one of the persons mentioned, at l'Orient, and did not sign the letter. Messrs. Franklin and Deane knew of nothing done by Gourlade, to impair their confidence in him.

Agreeably to the suggestion of Jones, they addressed an intimation to the crew of the Ranger, promising "in case of their good and gallant behavior, to recommend them to Congress for a generous gratification, proportioned to their merits."

On the 10th of February, Jones says in his Journal to the king of France, "on receiving agreeable news of affairs in America, and the position of Lord Howe's fleet, he wrote a letter to Mr. Deane, one of the commissioners of Congress at Paris, containing the plan that was adopted for Count d'Estaing's expedition; which would have ended the war, had it been immediately pursued."

He has been censured for assuming to himself the original merit of devising this important measure. It is certain, that he repeatedly makes the assertion

that he furnished the outline of the project. (See Appendix No. III.) In a letter to M. De Sartine, the French minister of marine, written subsequently, he says:

"Had Count d'Estaing arrived in the Delaware a few days sooner, he might have made a most glorious and easy conquest. Many successful projects may be adopted from the hints which I had the honor to draw up; and if I can still furnish more, or execute any of these already furnished, so as to distress and humble the common enemy, it will afford me the truest pleasure." It may naturally be inferred that the operations of Count d'Estaing's fleet was a subject discussed in the consultations held by Jones with the commissioners, on his first brief visit to Paris, though he does not intimate that any such conversation took place. It cannot be doubted that he was peculiarly qualified to give important advice, from his accurate acquaintance with the localities of the Delaware, and the navigation of the waters in the vicinity of the scene selected for the intended operation. It will also be doubted that his advice would naturally be of a daring character, recommending bold measures as best calculated to lead to great results.

There can be no reason for impeaching his veracity, when he affirms that he forwarded his plan to Mr. Deane at the time mentioned; nor does it appear that he exclusively arrogated the praise due to the wisdom with which the scheme was conceived. He put in a claim for his fair share of honor; and there

is no evidence against his title to it. As secrecy was essential in effecting the proposed object, no mention is of course made of it in his general correspondence at the time. It failed, as is well known, from the delay which occurred, and which enabled Lord Howe to place his fleet and transports in safety.

CHAPTER V.

AT WHITEHAVEN.

From Nantes Jones proceeded in the Ranger for Quiberon Bay, whither he convoyed some American vessels, that desired to sail out under the protection of the French squadron in that road, commanded by Monsieur La Motte Picquet. From that brave officer Captain Jones claimed and obtained the first salute the flag of America ever received.

Some days afterwards he claimed and obtained the same honor from Count d'Orvilliers, commander-in-chief of the fleet at Brest. Both these salutes preceded the publication of the treaty of alliance.

This first salute was not obtained, however, without some diplomacy and negotiation, in which Jones showed both firmness and address. The following letters were written by him on the occasion:

"*February* 14*th*, 1778.

"Dear Sir,—

"I am extremely sorry to give you fresh trouble, but I think the Admiral's answer of yesterday requires an explanation.

"The haughty English return gun for gun to foreign officers of equal rank, and two less only to

captains by flag-officers. It is true, my command at present is not important, yet, as the senior American officer at present in Europe, it is my duty to claim an equal return of respect to the flag of the United States that would be shown to any other flag whatever.

"I therefore take the liberty of enclosing an appointment, perhaps as respectable as any which the French Admiral can produce; besides which, I have others in my possession.

"If, however, he persists in refusing to return an equal salute, I will accept of two guns less, as I have not the rank of Admiral.

"It is my opinion that he would return four less to a privateer or a merchant ship; therefore, as I have been honored oftener than once with a chief command of ships-of-war, I cannot, in honor, accept of the same terms of respect.

"You will singularly oblige me by waiting upon the Admiral; and I ardently hope you will succeed in the application, else I shall be under the necessity of departing without coming into the bay. I have the honor to be, etc., etc.

"To William Carmichael, Esq.

"N. B.—Though thirteen guns is your greatest salute in America, yet if the French Admiral should prefer a greater number, he has his choice, on conditions."

Writing to Mr. Jonathan Williams on the follow-

ing day, he says, "I propose to salute the Admiral in open day; that no evasion may afterwards be made." He wrote as follows to the Marine Committee, on the 22d of February:

"I am happy in having it in my power to congratulate you on my having seen the American flag for the first time recognized in the fullest and completest manner by the flag of France. I was off their bay the 13th, and sent my boat in the next day, to know if the Admiral would return my salute. He answered that he would return to me, as the senior American continental officer in Europe, the same salute which he was authorized by his court to return to an Admiral of Holland or of any other Republic, which was four guns less than the salute given. I hesitated at this; for I had demanded gun for gun. Therefore, I anchored in the entrance of the bay, at a distance from the French fleet, but after a very particular inquiry on the 14th, finding that he had really told the truth, I was induced to accept of his offer, the more so as it was in fact an acknowledgment of American Independence. The wind being contrary, and blowing hard, it was after sunset before the Ranger got near enough to salute La Motte Picquet with thirteen guns; which he returned with nine. However, to put the matter beyond a doubt, I did not suffer the Independence to salute till next morning, when I sent the Admiral word that I should sail through his fleet in the brig, and would salute him in open day. He was ex-

ceedingly pleased, and returned the compliment also with nine guns.

"I have in contemplation several enterprises of some importance. . . . When an enemy thinks a design against him improbable, he can always be surprised and attacked with advantage. It is true, I must run great risk; but no gallant action was ever performed without danger. Therefore, though I cannot ensure success, I will endeavor to deserve it."

Writing on the same date to the secret committee, thanking them for the flattering terms in which he had been recommended to the commissioners, and his services been spoken of, he enclosed an ode of a patriotic nature, which had been written in France, begging that it might be laid before Congress, and intimating a hope that the author would be considered worthy of the attention of that body.

He says that at this time "Count d'Orvilliers, through whom he communicated his idea for an expedition to America to M. De Sartine, offered, on account of the smallness of his frigate, to procure for him a commission of Captain in the Royal Navy of France, which he refused."

He sailed from Brest on the 10th of April, on his first memorable cruise. The commissioners had no exact idea of his intentions. He "at first had thoughts of striking a blow on the south side of England; but, being detained for some time by contrary and stormy winds at Brest, he abandoned that scheme." The most ample and interesting account

of this cruise is given in his letter to the American Commissioners, written on the 27th of May, from Brest. It is said to be confirmed, in all its details, by log-books in the possession of individuals in Scotland. It has been very frequently published, but its insertion entire is essential here.

"I have now to fulfil the promise made in my last, by giving you an account of my late expedition.

"I sailed from Brest the 10th of April; my plan was extensive, I therefore did not at the beginning wish to encumber myself with prisoners. On the 14th I took a brigantine between Scilly and Cape Clear, bound for Ostend, with a cargo of flaxseed for Ireland, sunk her, and proceeded into St. George's Channel.

"On the 17th I took the ship Lord Chatham, bound from London to Dublin, with a cargo consisting of porter and a variety of merchandise, and almost within sight of her port; this ship I manned and ordered for Brest.

"Towards the evening of the day following, the weather had a promising appearance, and, the wind being favorable, I stood over from the Isle of Man with an intention to make a descent at Whitehaven; at ten I was off the harbor with a party of volunteers, and had everything in readiness to land; but before eleven the wind greatly increased and shifted, so as to blow directly upon the shore; the sea increased of course, and it became impossible to effect

a landing. This obliged me to carry all possible sail so as to clear the land and to await a more favorable opportunity.

"On the 18th, in Glentinebay, on the south coast of Scotland, I met with a revenue wherry; it being the common practise of these vessels to board merchant ships, the Ranger then having no external appearance of war, it was expected that this rover would have come alongside; I was, however, mistaken; for though the men were at their quarters, yet this vessel outsailed the Ranger, and got clear in spite of a severe cannonade.

"The next morning, off the Mull of Galloway, I found myself so near a Scotch coasting schooner, loaded with barley, that I could not avoid sinking her. Understanding that there were ten or twelve sail of merchant ships, besides a Tender brigantine, with a number of impressed men on board, at anchor in Lochryan, in Scotland, I thought this an enterprise worthy my attention; but the wind, which at the first would have served equally well to have sailed in or out of the Loch, shifted in a hard squall, so as to blow almost directly in, with an appearance of bad weather. I was therefore obliged to abandon my project.

"Seeing a cutter off the lee-bow steering for the Clyde, I gave chase, in hopes of cutting her off; but finding my endeavors ineffectual, I pursued no farther than the Rock of Ailsa. In the evening I fell in with a sloop from Dublin, which I sunk, to prevent intelligence.

"The next day, the 21st, being near Carrickfergus, a fishing-boat came off, which I detained. I saw a ship at anchor in the road, which I was informed by the fishermen was the British ship-of-war Drake, of twenty guns. I determined to attack her in the night; my plan was to overlay her cable, and to fall upon her bow, so as to have all her decks open and exposed to our musketry, etc.; at the same time, it was my intention to have secured the enemy by grapplings, so that, had they cut their cables, they would not thereby have attained an advantage.

"The wind was high, and unfortunately the anchor was not let go so soon as the order was given, so that the Ranger was brought to upon the enemy's quarter at the distance of half a cable's length. We had made no warlike appearance, of course had given no alarm; this determined me to cut immediately, which might appear as if the cable had parted, and at the same time enable me, after making a tack out of the Loch, to return with the same prospect of advantage which I had at the first. I was, however, prevented from returning, as I with difficulty weathered the lighthouse on the lee-side of the Loch, and as the gale increased. The weather now became so very stormy and severe, and the sea ran so high, that I was obliged to take shelter under the south shore of Scotland.

"The 22d introduced fair weather, though the three kingdoms were, as far as the eye could reach, covered with snow. I now resolved once more to attempt Whitehaven; but the wind became very

light, so that the ship would not in proper time approach so near as I had intended.

"At midnight I left the ship with two boats and thirty-one volunteers; when we reached the outer pier, the day began to dawn; I would not, however, abandon my enterprise, but despatched one boat under the direction of Mr. Hill and Lieutenant Wallingsford, with the necessary combustibles to set fire to the shipping on the north side of the harbor, while I went with the other party to attempt the south side.

"I was successful in scaling the walls and spiking up all the cannon on the first fort; finding the sentinels shut up in the guard-house, they were secured without being hurt. Having fixed sentinels, I now took with me one man only (Mr. Green), and spiked up all the cannon on the southern fort, distant from the other a quarter of a mile.

"On my return from this business, I naturally expected to see the fire of the ships on the north side, as well as to find my own party with everything in readiness to set fire to the shipping on the south; instead of this, I found the boat under the direction of Mr. Hill and Mr. Wallingsford returned, and the party in some confusion, their light having burnt out at the instant it became necessary.

"By the strangest fatality, my own party were in the same situation, the candles being all burnt out. The day too came on apace, yet I would by no means retreat while any hopes of success remained. Having again placed sentinels, a light was obtained

at a house disjoined from the town, and a fire kindled in the steerage of a large ship, which was surrounded by at least a hundred and fifty others, chiefly from two to four hundred tons burthen, and lying side by side, aground, unsurrounded by the water.

"There were, besides, from seventy to a hundred large ships in the north arm of the harbor, aground, clear of the water, and divided from the rest only by a stone pier of a ship's height. I should have kindled fires in other places if the time had permitted; as it did not, our care was to prevent the one kindled from being easily extinguished. After some search, a barrel of tar was found, and poured into the flames, which now ascended from all the hatchways. The inhabitants began to appear in thousands, and individuals ran hastily towards us. I stood between them and the ship on fire, with a pistol in my hand, and ordered them to retire, which they did with precipitation. The flames had already caught the rigging, and begun to ascend the mainmast; the sun was a full hour's march above the horizon, and as sleep no longer ruled the world, it was time to retire. We re-embarked without opposition, having released a number of prisoners, as our boats could not carry them. After all my people had embarked, I stood upon the pier for a considerable space, yet no person advanced; I saw all the eminences round the town covered with the amazed inhabitants.

"When we had rowed to a considerable distance from the shore, the English began to run in vast

numbers to their forts; their disappointment may easily be imagined when they found, I suppose, at least thirty heavy cannon (the instrument of their vengeance) rendered useless.

"At length, however, they began to fire, having, as I apprehend, either brought down ships' guns, or used one or two cannon which lay on the beach at the foot of the walls, dismounted, and which had not been spiked. They fired with no direction, and the shot, falling short of the boats, instead of doing us any damage, afforded some diversion, which my people could not help showing, by discharging their pistols, etc., in return of the salute.

"Had it been possible to have landed a few hours sooner, my success would have been complete. Not a single ship out of more than two hundred could possibly have escaped, and all the world would not have been able to save the town. What was done, however, is sufficient to show that not all their boasted navy can protect their own coasts; that the scenes of distress, which they have occasioned in America, may be soon brought home to their own door. One of my people was missing; and must, I fear, have fallen into the enemies' hands after our departure.

"I was pleased that in this business we neither killed nor wounded any person. I brought off three prisoners as a sample.

"We now stood over for the Scotch shore; and I landed at noon at St. Mary's Isle, with one boat only, and a very small party. The motives which

induced me to land there are explained in the within copy of a letter which I have addressed to the Countess of Selkirk, dated the 8th instant.

"On the morning of the 24th, I was again off Carrickfergus, and would have gone in, had I not seen the Drake preparing to come out. It was very moderate, and the Drake's boat was sent out to reconnoiter the Ranger. As the boat advanced, I kept the ship's stern directly toward her; and though they had a spy-glass in the boat, they came on within hail, and alongside.

"When the officer came on the quarter-deck, he was greatly surprised to find himself a prisoner; although an express had arrived from Whitehaven the night before. I now understood, what I had before imagined, that the Drake came out in consequence of this information, with volunteers, against the Ranger. The officer told me, also, that they had taken up the Ranger's anchor. The Drake was attended by five small vessels full of people, who were led by curiosity to see an engagement. But, when they saw the Drake's boat at the Ranger's stern, they wisely put back.

"Alarm smokes now appeared in great abundance, extending along on both sides of the channel. The tide was unfavorable, so that the Drake worked out but slowly. This obliged me to run down several times, and to lay with courses up, and main-topsail to the mast. At length the Drake weathered the point, and having led her out to about mid-channel, I suffered her to come within hail.

"The Drake hoisted English colors, and at the same instant the American stars were displayed on board the Ranger. I expected that preface had been now at the end, but the enemy soon after hailed, demanding what ship it was? I directed the master to answer, 'The American Continental ship Ranger; that we waited for them, and desired that they would come on; the sun was now little more than an hour from setting, it was therefore time to begin.' The Drake being astern of the Ranger, I ordered the helm up, and gave her the first broadside. The action was warm, close, and obstinate. It lasted an hour and four minutes, when the enemy called for quarters; her fore and main-topsail yards being both cut away, and down on the cap; the top-gallant yard and mizzen-gaff both hanging up and down along the mast; the second ensign which they had hoisted shot away, and hanging on the quarter gallery in the water; the jib shot away, and hanging in the water; her sails and rigging entirely cut to pieces; her masts and yards all wounded, and her hull also very much galled.

"I lost only Lieutenant Wallingsford and one seaman, John Dougall, killed, and six wounded; among whom are the gunner, Mr. Falls, and Mr. Powers, a midshipman, who lost his arm. One of the wounded, Nathaniel Wills, is since dead; the rest will recover. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was far greater. All the prisoners allow that they came out with a number not less than a hundred and sixty men; and many of them

affirm that they amounted to a hundred and ninety. The medium may, perhaps, be the most exact account; and by that it will appear that they lost in killed and wounded forty-two men. The captain and lieutenant were among the wounded; the former, having received a musket-ball in the head the minute before they called for quarters, lived, and was sensible some time after the people boarded the prize. The lieutenant survived two days. They were buried with the honors due to their rank, and with the respect due to their memory.

"The night and almost the whole day after the action being moderate greatly facilitated the refitting of both ships. A large brigantine was so near the Drake in the afternoon that I was obliged to bring her to. She belonged to Whitehaven, and was bound for Norway.

"I had thought of returning by the south channel; but the wind shifting, I determined to pass by the north, and round the west coast of Ireland. This brought me once more off Belfast Lough, on the evening after the engagement. It was now time to release the honest fishermen, whom I took up here on the 21st. And as the poor fellows had lost their boat, she having sunk in the late stormy weather, I was happy in having it in my power to give them the necessary sum to purchase everything which they had lost. I gave them also a good boat to transport themselves ashore; and sent with them two infirm men, on whom I bestowed the last guinea in my possession, to defray their traveling expenses

to their proper home in Dublin. They took with them one of the Drake's sails, which would sufficiently explain what had happened to the volunteers. The grateful fishermen were in rapture; and expressed their joy in three huzzas as they passed the Ranger's quarter.

"I again met with contrary winds in the mouth of the North Channel, but nothing remarkable happened, till, on the morning of the 5th, Ushant then bearing S. E. by S., distance fifteen leagues, when seeing a sail to leeward steering for the Channel, the wind being favorable for Brest, and the distance trifling, I resolved to give chase, having the Drake in tow. I informed them of my intentions, and ordered them to cast off. They cut the hawser. The Ranger in the chase went lasking between N. N. E., and N. N. W. It lasted an hour and ten minutes, when the chase was hailed and proved a Swede. I immediately hauled by the wind to the southward.

"After cutting the hawser, the Drake went from the wind for some time, then hauled close by the wind, steering from S. S. E. to S. S. W. as the wind permitted, so that when the Ranger spoke the chase, the Drake was scarcely perceptible. In the course of the day many large ships appeared, steering into the Channel, but the extraordinary evolutions of the Drake made it impossible for me to avail myself of these favorable circumstances.

"Towards noon it became very squally, the wind backed from the S. W. to the W. The Ranger had

come up with the Drake, and was nearly abreast of her, though considerably to the leeward, when the wind shifted. The Drake, however, was kept by the wind, though, as I afterward understood, they knew the Ranger and saw the signal which she had hoisted. After various evolutions and signals in the night, I gave chase to a sail which appeared bearing S. S. W. the next morning at a great distance. The chase discovered no intention to speak with the Ranger; she was, however, at length brought to, and proved to be the Drake. I immediately put Lieutenant Simpson under suspension and arrest for disobedience of my orders, dated the 26th ult., a copy of which is here enclosed. On the 8th both ships anchored safe in the Road, the Ranger having been absent only twenty-eight days."

CHAPTER VI.

SELKIRK'S PLATE.

The surprise produced in Great Britain by this daring and successful attempt upon her coasts must have been as great as the latter was unexpected.

One of Paul Jones' first acts on returning to Brest was to address the Countess on the subject of the plate taken from her residence, in the well-known letter, which we shall insert here. To be assured of its reaching the lady, he forwarded triplicates, one of which was enclosed open to Dr. Franklin, for his perusal. In the letter enclosing it, he says: "I cannot but feel myself hurt, by the dirty insinuation of the enemy, that my enterprise at Whitehaven was in consequence of a capital sum; paid me in hand by the court of France. They have more visits of the same kind to expect, if I am not deprived of the means of making them; and that, too, without my having either a certainty, or a hope of gain."

"Ranger, Brest, *May 8th*, 1778.

"To the Countess of Selkirk,

"Madam,—It cannot be too much lamented that, in the profession of arms, the officer of fine feeling and of real sensibility should be under the necessity of winking at any action of persons under his

command which his heart cannot approve; but the reflection is doubly severe when he finds himself obliged, in appearance, to countenance such actions by his authority.

"This hard case was mine, when, on the 23d of April last, I landed on St. Mary's Isle. Knowing Lord Selkirk's interest with his king, and esteeming, as I do, his private character, I wished to make him the happy instrument of alleviating the horrors of hopeless captivity, when the brave are overpowered and made prisoners of war.

"It was, perhaps, fortunate for you, madam, that he was from home; for it was my intention to have taken him on board the Ranger, and to have detained him until, through his means, a general and fair exchange of prisoners, as well in Europe as America, had been effected.

"When I was informed, by some men whom I met at landing, that his lordship was absent, I walked back to my boat, determined to leave the island. By the way, however, some officers, who were with me, could not forbear expressing their discontent; observing that, in America, no delicacy was shown by the English, who took away all sorts of movable property—setting fire, not only to towns and to the houses of the rich, without distinction, but not even sparing the wretched hamlets and milch-cows of the poor and helpless, at the approach of an inclement winter. That party had been with me, the same morning, at Whitehaven; some complaisance, therefore, was their due. I had but a moment to think

how I might gratify them, and at the same time do your ladyship the least injury. I charged the two officers to permit none of the seamen to enter the house, or to hurt anything about it—to treat you, madam, with the utmost respect—to accept of the plate which was offered—and to come away without making a search, or demanding anything else.

"I am induced to believe that I was punctually obeyed; since I am informed that the plate which they brought away is far short of the quantity expressed in the inventory which accompanied it. I have gratified my men; and when the plate is sold, I shall become the purchaser, and will gratify my own feelings by restoring it to you, by such conveyance as you shall please to direct.

"Had the earl been on board the Ranger the following evening, he would have seen the awful pomp and dreadful carnage of a sea engagement; both affording ample subject for the pencil, as well as melancholy reflection to the contemplative mind. Humanity starts back from such scenes of horror, and cannot sufficiently execrate the vile promoters of this detestable war.

> 'For they, 'twas they unsheathed the ruthless blade,
> And heaven shall ask the havoc it has made.'

"The British ship-of-war Drake, mounting twenty guns, with more than her full complement of officers and men, was our opponent. The ships met, and the advantage was disputed with great fortitude on each side, for an hour and four minutes, when the

gallant commander of the Drake fell, and victory declared in favor of the Ranger. The amiable lieutenant lay mortally wounded, besides near forty of the inferior officers and crew killed and wounded; a melancholy demonstration of the uncertainty of human prospects, and of the sad reverse of fortune which an hour can produce. I buried them in a spacious grave, with the honors due to the memory of the brave.

"Though I have drawn my sword in the present generous struggle for the rights of men, yet I am not in arms as an American, nor am I in pursuit of riches. My fortune is liberal enough, having no wife nor family, and having lived long enough to know that riches cannot ensure happiness. I profess myself a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little, mean distinctions of climate or of country, which diminish the benevolence of the heart and set bounds to philanthropy. Before this war was begun, I had, at an early time of life, withdrawn from sea service, in favor of 'calm contemplation and poetic ease.' I have sacrificed not only my favorite scheme of life, but the softer affections of the heart, and my prospects of domestic happiness, and I am ready to sacrifice my life also, with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture could restore peace and good will among mankind.

"As the feelings of your gentle bosom cannot but be congenial with mine, let me entreat you, madam, to use your persuasive art, with your husband's, to endeavor to stop this cruel and destructive war, in

which Britain never can succeed. Heaven can never countenance the barbarous and unmanly practise of the Britons in America, which savages would blush at, and which, if not discontinued, will soon be retaliated on Britain by a justly enraged people. Should you fail in this (for I am persuaded that you will attempt it, and who can resist the power of such an advocate?), your endeavors to effect a general exchange of prisoners will be an act of humanity which will afford you golden feelings on a death-bed.

"I hope this cruel contest will soon be closed; but should it continue, I wage no war with the fair. I acknowledge their force, and bend before it with submission. Let not, therefore, the amiable Countess of Selkirk regard me as an enemy; I am ambitious of her esteem and friendship, and would do anything, consistent with my duty, to merit it.

"The honor of a line from your hand in answer to this will lay me under a singular obligation; and if I can render you any acceptable service in France or elsewhere, I hope you see into my character so far as to command me without the least grain of reserve.

"I wish to know exactly the behavior of my people, as I am determined to punish them if they have exceeded their liberty. I have the honor to be, with much esteem and with profound respect, madam, etc., etc.,

"JOHN PAUL JONES."

The subsequent history of this plate is briefly as

follows: Lord Selkirk wrote a letter in reply to that addressed by Jones to his Countess, intimating that he would accept of its return, if made by order of Congress, but not if redeemed by individual generosity. The letter was detained several months at London, in the General Postoffice, and returned to the Earl, who requested a gentleman to communicate the cause of its miscarriage and its tenor, orally, to Doctor Franklin.

The Doctor immediately informed Jones of the substance of this communication. It was not until the beginning of 1780 that the latter was enabled to get the property he was determined to restore into his possession. It had fallen into the hands of the prize agents, from whom it was obtained with considerable difficulty; and not till after several valuations, and until it cost him who redeemed it more, as he intimates, than it was intrinsically worth; though he carefully avoids mentioning that circumstance in his second letter to the Countess.

When he had succeeded in effecting this object, he wrote again to the Countess of Selkirk; but his voyage to America, and other circumstances, retarded its delivery until 1784. It was eventually returned in the same condition in which it had been removed, and a letter from Lord Selkirk acknowledged in terms satisfactory, though formal, the unwearied pains which Captain Jones had taken to procure its restoration.

The copy of the order given to Lieutenant Simpson when the latter was put in charge of the Drake,

for disobeying which he was put under arrest, as is mentioned in the letter to the Plenipotentiaries, is said in the copy of that letter, certified from the office of the secretary of Congress, to be missing. It is intimated, upon what authority does not appear, that Simpson had been insubordinate from the beginning; that he excited the men to discontent; and that frequent disagreements had taken place between him and his commander.

It is also plausibly suggested that, when the Ranger left Portsmouth, he expected to be in command of her on her arriving at France, where a large ship had been promised to Jones. There is every reason to believe that Simpson was little inclined to submit to that discipline, for which Jones was so stern and rigid an advocate. He is probably referred to as the wise officer, who objected to "burning poor people's houses." On the night when Jones made his second attempt to take the Drake while at anchor, he relates in his Journal for the king of France that "the Lieutenant having held up to the crew that, being Americans, fighting for liberty the voice of the people should be taken before the Captain's orders were obeyed, they rose in mutiny; and Captain Jones was in the utmost danger of being killed or thrown overboard." He adds that this danger was averted, by an accidental circumstance,—the capture of the Drake's boat; upon which trifling success, the "voice of the people" was no longer against fighting.

The news of the result of Jones' expedition was at such a moment gratifying and inspiring to the

French court. He had praises and promises in profusion. But he found himself immediately under the pressure of painful embarrassments, which these could not remove. In the conclusion of his letter to the commissioners, on the 27th of May, he says:

"Could I suppose that my letters of the 9th and 16th current (the first advising you of my arrival, and giving reference to the events to my expedition; the last advising you of my draft in favor of Monsieur Bersolle, for 24,000 livres, and assigning reasons for that demand), had not made due appearance, I would hereafter, as I do now, enclose copies. Three posts have already arrived here from Paris, since Count d'Orvilliers showed me the answer which he received from the minister, to the letter which enclosed mine to you. Yet you remain silent. M. Bersolle has this moment informed me of the fate of my bills; the more extraordinary, as I have not yet made use of your letter of credit of the 10th of January last, whereby I then seemed entitled to be thought extravagant, when, on the 16th current, I doubled that demand.

"Could this indignity be kept secret I should disregard it; and, though it is already public in Brest, and in the fleet, as it affects only my private credit I will not complain. I cannot, however, be silent when I find the public credit involved in the same disgrace. I conceive this might have been prevented. To make me completely wretched, Monsieur Bersolle has told me that he now stops his hand, not

only of the necessary articles to refit the ship, but also of the daily provisions. I know not where to find to-morrow's dinner for the great number of mouths that depend on me for food. Are then the continental ships of war to depend on the sale of their prizes for a daily dinner for their men? 'Publish it not in Gath!'

"My officers, as well as men, want clothes, and the prizes are precluded from being sold before farther orders arrive from the minister. I will ask you, gentlemen, if I have deserved all this. Whoever calls himself an American ought to be protected here. I am unwilling to think that you have intentionally involved me in this sad dilemma, at a time when I ought to expect some enjoyment. Therefore I have, as formerly, the honor to be, with due esteem and respect, gentlemen, yours, etc."

It is to be observed that before Jones left America, as he mentions in a subsequent letter, he was more than 1,500 pounds in advance for the public service, exclusive of his own investment in fitting out the Ranger, and had never received any compensation.

He was, however, left, such was the inability of the commissioners to afford him relief, for more than a month with "two hundred prisoners of war, a number of sick and wounded, and a ship, after a severe engagement, in want of stores and provisions," to depend upon his own resources.

"Yet," he says in his Journal for the king, "dur-

ing that time, by his personal credit with Count d'Orvilliers, the Duc de Chatres, and the Intendant of Brest, he fed his people and prisoners, cured his wounded, and refitted both the Ranger and Drake for sea." During the same period he had also to contend with the formal delays or personal cupidity of the prize agents, and to suppress the discontents among the crew, who were naturally impatient under privation and misery when they had looked for their wages and prize money.

These discontents were further aggravated by Lieutenant Simpson, who, "while under arrest on board the Drake, had constant intercourse with the crew, who thereby became insolent so as to refuse duty, and go all hands below, repeatedly, before the Captain's face. It was impossible to trifle at that time, as Count d'Orvilliers had assured Captain Jones that, unless he could get the Drake ready to transport the prisoners to America before orders arrived from court, they would in all probability be given up without an exchange, to avoid immediate war with England. It therefore became impossible to suffer the lieutenant to remain any longer among them. Captain Jones had him removed to the ship called the Admiral, where the French confine even the first officers in the service. He had there a good chamber to himself, and liberty to walk the deck. The lieutenant endeavored to desert out of the Admiral, and behaved so extravagantly, that Count d'Orvilliers, without the knowledge of Captain Jones, ordered him to the prison of the port, where

he also had a good chamber; and Captain Jones paid his expenses out of his own pocket."

What rendered the dishonor of his draft peculiarly vexatious, independent of the distress to which it exposed him, and the fact that in January preceding he had been furnished with a bill of credit on Jonathan Williams for five hundred louis d'ors, signed by the three commissioners, was the circumstance that he had, under the sanction of the Marine Committee, before leaving Portsmouth, made himself accountable to his crew for the regular payment of their wages.

In the midst of all these trials of temper, as well as of fortitude and patriotism, Jones was longing to be again employed in active service and in acquiring renown; and was projecting high schemes for annoying the enemy. The situation of the American Commissioners at this time (Messrs. Franklin A. Lee, and Adams, Mr. Deane having been recalled) is well known. Their authority was limited, and the funds subject to their control were still more so. On the 25th of May, they wrote to Mr. Jonathan Williams, at Nantes, whom they had appointed commercial agent, as follows: "The necessities of our country demand the utmost frugality, which can never be obtained without the utmost simplicity in the management of her affairs; and as Congress has authorized Mr. W. Lee to superintend the commercial affairs in general, and he has appointed Mr. Schweighauser, and as your authority is under the commissioners at Paris only, we think

it prudent and necessary to revoke, etc., all the powers and authorities heretofore granted to you, etc., to the end that hereafter the management of the affairs, commercial and maritime, of America, may be under one sole direction, that of Mr. Schweighauser, within his district." "We shall this day acquaint Captain Jones how far it is in our power to comply with his desires, and in what manner."

Such was the position in which Jones found himself after his return to Brest. In citing such extracts from his correspondence as explain the multifarious difficulties and projects of this period, there seems to be but one mode of avoiding confusion, which is to preserve chronological order.

His first object was to make provision for the seamen. In mentioning to the commissioners, in his letter of May 16th, that he had drawn for the 24,000 livres, he says:

"I mean to distribute it among the officers and crew, to whom I owe my late success. It is but reasonable that they should be furnished with the means of procuring little necessaries and comforts of life for themselves; and the interests of the service, as well as the claims of humanity and justice, plead in behalf of their wives and helpless families, who are now unprovided in America, and will naturally expect a supply of clothing, etc., by the Drake."

On the 27th of May, Franklin wrote to Jones as follows:

"Dear Sir,—I received yours of the 18th, enclosing one for the Countess of Selkirk, which I forwarded this day, via Holland. It is a gallant letter, and must give her ladyship a high and just opinion of your gallantry and nobleness of mind. The dirty insinuation you mention is of a piece with many others from the same quarter, the natural produce of base minds; who, feeling no other motive can exist in others, and therefore it is to that alone, they ascribe the most praiseworthy actions.

"The Jersey privateers do us a great deal of mischief by intercepting our supplies. It has been mentioned to me that your small vessel, commanded by so brave an officer, might render great service by following them where greater ships dare not venture their bottoms; or, being accompanied and supported by some frigates from Brest, at a proper distance, might draw them out and then take them. I wish you to consider of this, as it comes from high authority, and that you would immediately think of it, and let me know when your ship will be ready. I have written to England about the exchange of your prisoners. I congratulate you most cordially on your late success, and wish for a continuance and increase of the honor you have acquired."

While the matter and manner of the beginning of this letter were well calculated to give Jones pleasure, his own phraseology being nearly echoed, it afforded no prospect of immediate relief. No mention is made of the draft; and the service proposed was

not of such a character as was particularly calculated to gratify the appetite of any ambitious commander, just flushed with success; much less that of Jones, who would thus have been made subservient to the objects of others, who would reap the glory while he was playing the humbler part of hunting out game for them. In his reply, however, he declares his readiness to comply, while he intimates very plainly his longing for more dignified employment. This is not unskilfully introduced. The letter, dated June 1st, is as follows:

"His Excellency Benjamin Franklin,

"Honored and Dear Sir,—Accept my grateful thanks for your much esteemed favor of the 27th ult. Such a mark of your good opinion and approbation really affords me the most heartfelt satisfaction. It shall always be my ambition to do my duty, as far as my judgment and small abilities enable me;—but you will see by the within papers, that my roses are not without thorns; and, perhaps, it will seem romance that I have succeeded, which I am sure I should not have done, had I not been my own counselor.

"Nothing would give me more pleasure than to render essential services to America, in any measure which you may find expedient. Should I be able to lead my present crew, it can be done only by the seldom failing bait for sordid minds, great views of interest.

"If in bringing about the plans you propose, I

may take the liberty to assure them of the protection of the French flag, in the channel, against enemies of superior force, with the free liberty to attack, and take under that sanction, such of the enemy's ships of war, or merchantmen, as may be met with, of equal or inferior force, perhaps I may succeed and gain them over by that means, nor will it be necessary to tell them our real object.

"If I am not at liberty to give them such assurances, and their home-sickness should continue, I could wish that such officers as may appear dangerously ill might have liberty to lay down their commissions and warrants, and that others may be given to men of stronger nerves, who would be too proud to think themselves servants by the year. I believe many such may be found among American subjects in France.

"If it should be consistent to order the Boston frigate here from Bordeaux, perhaps such exchanges might be made as would be for the interest and harmony of the service; and we might perhaps be able to assemble a sufficient number of officers to form a court.

"The Duc de Chatres has shown me sundry attentions, and expressed his inclination to facilitate my obtaining the ship built at Amsterdam. I believe I could easily obtain letters to the same effect, from the principal people here, but shall take no step without your approbation. If the prisoners should be exchanged in Europe, I believe it would be possible to man that ship with Americans. I

could have manned two such with French volunteers since I arrived.

"The Ranger is crank, sails slow, and is of a trifling force. Most of the enemy's cruisers are more than a match, yet I mean not to complain. I demand nothing; and although I know that it was the intention of Congress to give me that ship, I am now ready to go wherever the service calls me.

"If two or three fast sailing ships could be collected, there is a great choice of private enterprises, some of which might succeed, and add more to the interest and honor of America than cruising with twice the force. It appears to me to be the province of our infant navy to surprise, and spread alarms with fast sailing ships. When we grow stronger, we can meet their fleets, and dispute with them the sovereignty of the ocean. These are my private sentiments, and are therefore submitted with the utmost diffidence to your superior understanding.

"Both the Ranger and the Drake were so much disabled that they needed to be entirely new rigged. We, however, made shift from the wreck of both ships to rig the Drake, which is now completed. The Ranger's late rigging was twice laid and much too thick and heavy. The refitting her shall be continued with unremitting application."

He thus complains of the detention of the captors' part of one of the Ranger's prizes by Mr. Delap, a nominal sub-prize agent, and of the sacrifice of another prize at Nantes. Half the proceeds

of the latter was all the prize money yet received. In a postscript he says: "The written papers I send you in confidence; leaving it to you to show them or not to such persons as you may think proper."

The letter addressed by the commissioners to Jones, on the 25th of May, referred to in their letter, to Mr. Jonathan Williams, of the same date, is not among any of the published documents or manuscripts before the compiler. In it, according to their letter to Mr. Williams, they "acquainted Captain Jones how far it was in their power to comply with his desires, and in what manner." He thus wrote in reply on the 3d of June:

"GENTLEMEN,—

"Your letter of the 25th ult. I received by yesterday's post. I frankly ask your pardon for the undue liberty I took on the 16th ult. when I ventured to sign a draft upon you for the purpose of supplying the people under my command with necessary clothing, etc.; and I promise you never to be guilty of the like offense again. I hope you do not, however, mean to impute to me a desire to receive 'presents of the public money,' or even to touch a dollar of it, for any private purpose of my own. On the contrary, I need not now assert that I stepped forth at the beginning from nobler motives. My accounts, before I left America, testify that I am more than fifteen hundred pounds in advance for the public service, exclusive of any concern with the Ranger; and as for wages, I never re-

ceived any. Had I not previously determined to keep the prisoners here, they would have been sent away in the Drake, long before now. My embarrassed situation will, in the eyes of candor, apologize for my not sending you a more early information of the particulars of my cruise, and of the prizes which I have made. On my passage from America I took two brigantines, both from Malaga for England. The one arrived safe at Nantes; and being sold by Messrs. Morris and Williams, the captors' part was paid to them. The other arrived at Bordeaux, and was, I understand, sold by Mr. J. H. Delap, who, though he had my orders to remit the captors' part immediately into the hands of Mr. Williams of Nantes, yet still retains it in his own hands. On my late expedition, three prizes were sunk. The ship Lord Chatham was sent here (to Brest) to remain under the care of the Intendant. She now remains in the port, locked and nailed up under a guard. The ship-of-war Drake, with her stores on board, and the brigantine Patience in ballast, are with the Ranger at anchor in the Road. M. de Sartine can inform you that the sales of the prizes are precluded, until he sends further orders here. Had it been otherwise, I cannot see how you could suppose that I had created agents to dispose of the public property. And yet if I had done this, perhaps my public wants would justify me.

"The rules whereby Congress has been pleased to command me to regulate the conduct in the navy, authorizes me to issue my warrant to the agent,

etc., and I humbly conceive that it is his province to furnish me with an estimate of the amount of expenses. If you wish for an estimate from me, unacquainted as I am with prizes, besides the delay, it may be very far from exact.

"When you determined to change the continental agent, I could wish you had sent that information in a letter to meet me here on my arrival—as I had advised you of my intention to return to Brest. All disagreeable altercation might then have been avoided. My situation is not now mended by your last, the gentleman being at Nantes, and no person appearing in his behalf at Brest.

"A space of sixteen months is now elapsed since Congress thought of me, and placed under my command seven times my present force, leaving me at liberty how and where to apply it. And if I am not now capable of supporting the internal government of a single sloop-of-war, I wish that some person more deserving had my place, and I in America to answer for my misconduct. I have 'well considered' and yet shall persist in justifying the steps which I have taken, and to which you allude.

"I am happy in having it in my power to furnish you with the enclosed resolution of Congress, respecting the capture of the enemy's ships-of-war, agreeably to your desire; and, if you are in possession of any resolution of Congress which will authorize me to . . . send to America, I should be obliged to you for a copy of it."

CHAPTER VII.

DISAPPOINTMENT.

From this day until many months had passed Jones was doomed to the most irritating disappointments. He wrote in part to the newly-appointed commercial agent:

"In a word, if you consider yourself the agent or instrument for victualing and repairing the ships-of-war of the American navy, as I came here in distress the 8th ult. in want of provisions, with a number of wounded men and prisoners, you have not done your duty; as you have not, to this hour, given or offered me any assistance; thereby you have occasioned a loss of money and time to the United States. It was your duty to have appeared on the spot, and to have ministered to our wants. If, on the contrary, as I rather think, you consider yourself only as the instrument for selling the continental part of prizes, yet in this case, too, you have not done your duty. It was your duty to have appeared at Brest, to have taken care of the public property, and to have brought on the sales; whereas some of it may now be perishing, through your absence and neglect. I have been thus explicit, that you may not henceforth misunderstand me; and that, so far

as we may be connected, we may henceforth co-operate for the public good of the American United States."

Then it was, June 1st, 1778, Franklin wrote to Jones:

"I have the pleasure of informing you that it is proposed to give you the command of the great ship we have built at Amsterdam. By what you wrote to us formerly, I have ventured to say in your behalf, that this proposition would be agreeable to you. You will immediately let me know your resolution; which, that you may be more clear in taking, I must inform you of some circumstances. She is at present the property of the king; but as there is no war yet declared, you will have the commission and flag of the States, and act under their orders and laws. The Prince de Nassau will make the cruise with you. She is to be brought here under cover as a French merchantman, to be equipped and manned in France. We hope to exchange your prisoners for as many American sailors; but if that fails, you have your present crew to be made up here with other nations and French. The other commissioners are not acquainted with this proposition as yet; and you see by the nature of it, that it is necessary to be kept a secret till we have got the vessel here, for fear of difficulties in Holland, and interception; you will therefore direct your answer to me alone. It being desired that the affair

should rest between you and me, perhaps it may be best for you to take a trip up here to concert matters, if in general you approve of the idea."

It is unnecessary to say that Jones was delighted by the prospect, and much correspondence passed between him and Benjamin Franklin relative to the scheme. It seemed necessary Jones should go to Versailles, and, full of hope, he set out; but before leaving he wrote in his journal relative to Simpson:

"Finding the lieutenant appeared more reasonable than formerly, he took his parole in writing, not to serve again in the navy before he was acquitted by a court-martial, and set him at liberty. A day or two afterwards, the commissioners thought fit to interfere respecting the lieutenant of the Ranger, which, it is presumed, they had no authority to do, as it laid the ax to the root of insubordination."

He proceeds to say that "having the prisoners still under his care, the prizes being unsold, and the crew naked, Captain Jones, having completely refitted the Ranger, had no immediate business at Brest; and therefore went privately up to Versailles, on the invitation of the Court." On the 16th of June, he addressed a letter to the commissioners, from Passy, in which he says:

"At the time when I took Lieutenant Simpson's parole, I did not expect to have been so long absent

from America; but as circumstances have now rendered the time of my return less certain, I am willing to let the dispute between us drop forever, by giving up that parole, which will entitle him to command the Ranger. I have no malice, and if I have done him any injury, this will be making him all the present satisfaction in my power. If, on the contrary, he has injured me, I will trust for an acknowledgment."

The very event which arrayed the fleets of France and England against each other, deprived Jones of the command of the "great ship" at Amsterdam. He says in his journal for the king: "The action of the Belle Poule, which began the war between France and England, deranged the plan in contemplation, and greatly interfered with the views of court respecting Captain Jones. It was understood the States of Holland made great difficulty, respecting the Indian, that still remained at Amsterdam. Captain Jones offered to give up the project, and return to the Ranger. To prevent this, the minister wrote a letter to the commissioners, requesting their permission for Captain Jones to remain for a time in Europe, where he would be honorably employed to promote the common cause."

The embryo schemes agitated between Jones, Franklin, and the minister, whatever they may have been, were abandoned, as well as the command of the Indien. In reply to the request of the latter, above alluded to, the commissioners acquiesced, in

the following terms: "We readily consent that he should be at your excellency's disposition; and shall be happy if his services may be in any respect useful to the designs your excellency may have in contemplation."

It was well known that the king contemplated loaning the frigate Epervier to the United States, with the understanding that she was to be commanded by Jones, and the latter lost no time in addressing M. de Sartine a letter of thanks for the honor thus bestowed.

The offer of the Epervier was little more than a compliment. The ratifications of the treaties between the United States and France were exchanged on the same day on which the foregoing letter was written. War had not even yet been formally declared, but had in fact begun at sea, with large preparations on both sides. A violent impress had been made in England among the crews of merchantmen, and France required all her own seamen. The commissioners, or more properly, the plenipotentiaries, found great difficulty in procuring loans, even in small amounts, and were apprehensive that they would not be able to meet the drafts of Congress for the interest of certificates.

Negotiations on various points, growing out of the treaties, the intimation that England would recognize the independence of America, provided the latter would make a separate peace, occupied the attention of the commissioners. M. de Sartine entertained one of the numerous projects which Jones had sub-

mitted to him, either to appease his impatience, or with the real intention of carrying it into execution. This was the capture or destruction of the Baltic fleet. He says, in his Journal, "For this object three frigates and two cutters were destined; and Captain Jones appointed to command the whole."

On the 10th of August, 1778, Jones left Passy for Brest, in anticipation of receiving this command; but arrived only to find that the honor had been bestowed by Count d'Orvilliers upon a French officer.

It may be readily supposed that he was not in the best possible humor to brook what he conceived to be a downright indignity offered to himself. Yet such he had to encounter. It will be recollected that on the 16th of June, he had offered to give up the parole of Lieutenant Simpson, and on the 4th of July, had consented to let him take command of the ship. The lieutenant was not backward in accepting these concessions, and it appears he went much farther.

Jones wrote to the commissioners in an indignant strain, and also to Captain Abraham Whipple, who was then at Brest, asking that a court-martial be summoned for the trial of Simpson.

This request was refused on the grounds that there were not a sufficient number of American officers then in France. Jones says, "Simpson took command of the Ranger, without accepting the Captain's proposal, or having his parole given up. On

the contrary, it seemed afterwards he rather gave out that Captain Jones had been called to account by the commissioners, and turned out to make way for him."

Lieutenant Simpson sailed in the Ranger for America. On the 30th of August, the Captain's friend, Mr. Williams, writing to him from Nantes in relation to the pending sale of the Drake, said:

"I am sorry your affair with Lieutenant Simpson was not settled with mutual satisfaction. If he was not gone, I should answer his charge of falsehood with the following paragraph of his own letter to me, of the 1st of August, to mine, which you say he calls false, viz., 'I recollect my telling you when at Brest that, if Captain Jones had condescended to have made any inquiry, or permitted me to speak to him on the matter of my confinement, I was ready to give him any satisfaction consonant to truth.' It is strange he should recollect this when he wrote me the letter, and forget it again when he told Mr. Hill it was false. Lieutenant Simpson's letter to me is in very respectful terms, and I wrote him a letter of thanks in return. He desired me in it to present his respects to you, and to tell you that 'your recommendation to the commissioners, which I mentioned, would, with any services you had done him, be ever remembered with gratitude. This gave me great pleasure, etc.'"

The Providence, Boston, and Ranger arrived safe in America, having taken two or three mer-

chant vessels. Lieutenant Simpson was not afterwards employed in the continental service. In February following, the commissioners addressed a letter to Jones, stating that, as his separation from the Ranger, and the appointment of Lieutenant Simpson to the command of her would be liable to misinterpretations, they certified that his leaving her was by their consent, at the express request of M. de Sartine, who informed them that he had occasion to employ Jones in some public service; that Simpson was appointed to the command by the consent of Jones, who had released him from the arrest he had placed him under; that Jones' rank in the navy was not prejudiced by his leaving the Ranger; and that his commission remained in full force.

After this Jones wrote to the Prince of Nassau, imploring the latter to interest himself in his behalf, and begging that the command of the frigate L'Orient be given him.

On the 28th he wrote pressingly to Count d'Orvilliers for directions to M. Prévaláye to permit his embarkation with the fleet, should a vessel be sent in with letters. "I ardently wish," he says, "to attend you with my eyes, even to the pinnacle of fame; and to learn from so great and good a general how I may hereafter ascend the slippery precipices, beyond which the edifice is erected."

M. Prévaláye, the commandant, who did not feel at liberty to allow the captain to go on board of the fleet, also refused to furnish any guard for the

prisoners, after the armed vessels of France had left the port.

After much trouble, an exchange had been agreed upon, and a cartel provided for; and in these circumstances, there was nothing to prevent the prisoners from defeating the object of the protracted negotiation, by departing of their own accord.

Jones wrote in terms of authority to Mr. T. Lee, the deputy agent, and of earnest request to the Intendant of the port and the commissioners, to prevent this catastrophe. For his perseverance in procuring a guard, he received the hearty commendation of Franklin, who, in his letter of the 6th of February, said: "Your letter was sent to the Prince de Nassau. I am confident something will be done for you, though I do not yet know what. I sympathize with you in what I know you must suffer, from your present inactivity; but have patience." But nothing was done; and patience was not perhaps the most prominent virtue in Jones' character.

On the 31st he wrote to Franklin, desiring, as the American frigates had sailed on the 22d, that his letter of the 15th demanding a court-martial for Simpson might be suppressed, if it had not been presented to the commissioners. He adds: "It is here reported that the Jamaica fleet of seventy sail, under convoy of the Portland and four frigates, passed in sight of the Brest fleet, and got clear, because Count d'Orvilliers would not break his line to give chase. I wish to disbelieve this account;

because I had written to him that such a fleet was expected. I endeavor to console myself with the reflection that my own situation cannot well be altered for the worse. I must acknowledge, however, that I have need of some of your philosophy."

On the 13th of September he wrote to the minister what, in his epistle to Franklin, he calls an explicit letter, and which was but a summary of his past disappointments.

On the 18th he wrote to Franklin that he had seen the Fox, a sloop-of-war mounting 24 guns, which had been taken by the Hancock and Adams, and that he would accept of her, attended by the Alert as a tender, if nothing better should offer. On the 21st he addressed the Duc de Chatres, expressing his warm sense of the kindness shown to him at court by that nobleman, and repeating his successive disappointments. He concluded by saying: "If the minister has no farther occasion for my services, I have then only to ask permission to have the Alert, and to carry with me to America his good opinion, before the winter. As in my present mysterious situation here, I am considered an officer in disgrace, I am persuaded I need make no further apology to a brave officer, and a noble-minded prince, for the liberty I take."

He received at this period encouraging letters from his friend Dr. Bancroft, at Paris. "This very day" (September 23d), he said, "M. Chaumont has gone to Versailles, to press M. de Sartine to give

you the Fox frigate. If this should be denied, we are all determined to let the great man know in strong terms our opinions of his faithless and dishonorable proceedings."

On the 9th of October Jones wrote in terms of strong expostulation to the Duc de Rochefoucault, in which he said:

"The minister, to my infinite mortification, after possessing himself of my schemes and ideas, has treated me like a child five times successively, leading me on from great to little, and from little to less."

At length Jones determined, as a last resort, to address the king in person. The following were the terms in which he wrote:

"Brest, *October 19th*, 1778.

"Sire,—After my return to Brest in the American ship-of-war the Ranger, from the Irish Channel, his excellency Dr. Franklin informed me by letter, dated June the 1st, that M. de Sartine, having a high opinion of my conduct and bravery, had determined, with your Majesty's consent and approbation, to give me the command of the ship-of-war the Indien, which was built at Amsterdam for America, but afterwards, for political reasons, made the property of France.

"I was to act with unlimited orders, under the commission and flag of America; and the Prince de Nassau proposed to accompany me on the ocean.

"I was deeply penetrated with the sense of the honor done me by this generous proposition, as well as of the favor your Majesty intended thereby to confer on America. And I accepted the offer with the greater pleasure, as the Congress had sent me to Europe in the Ranger, to command the Indien before the ownership of that vessel was changed.

"The minister desired to see me at Versailles to settle future plans of operation, and I attended him for that purpose. I was told that the Indien was at the Texel, completely armed and fitted for sea; but the Prince de Nassau was sent express to Holland, and returned with a very different account. The ship was at Amsterdam, and could not be got afloat or armed before the September equinox. The American plenipotentaries proposed that I should return to America; and as I have repeatedly been appointed to the chief command of an American squadron to execute secret enterprises, it was not doubted but that Congress would again show me a preference. M. de Sartine, however, thought proper to prevent my departure, by writing to the plenipotentiaries (without my knowledge), requesting that I might be permitted to remain in Europe, and that the Ranger might be sent back to America under another commander, he having special services which he wished me to execute. This request they readily granted, and I was flattered by the prospect of being enabled to testify, by my services, my gratitude to your Majesty, as the first prince who has so generously acknowledged our independence.

"There was an interval of more than three months before the Indien could be gotten afloat. To employ that period usefully, when your Majesty's fleet was ordered to sail from Brest, I proposed to the minister to embark in it as a volunteer, in pursuit of marine knowledge. He objected to this, and at the same time approved of a variety of hints for private enterprises, which I had drawn up for his consideration. Two gentlemen were appointed to settle with me the plans that were to be adopted, who gave me the assurance that three of the best frigates in France, with two tenders, and a number of troops, should be immediately put under my command, to pursue such of my own projects as I thought proper; but this fell to nothing, when I believed that your Majesty's signature only was wanting.

"Another armament, composed of cutters and small vessels, at L'Orient, was proposed to be put under my command, to alarm the coasts of England and check the Jersey privateers; but, happily for me, this also failed, and I was saved from ruin and dishonor, as I now find that all the vessels sailed slow, and their united force is very insignificant. The minister then thought fit that I should return to Brest to command the Lively, and join some frigates on an expedition from St. Malo to the North Sea. I returned in haste for that purpose, and found that the Lively had been bestowed at Brest before the minister had mentioned that ship to me at Versailles. This was, however, another

fortunate disappointment, as the Lively proves, both in sailing and equipment, much inferior to the Ranger; but more especially, if it be true, as I have since understood, that the minister intended to give the chief command of the expedition to a lieutenant, which would have occasioned a very disagreeable misunderstanding; for, as an officer of the first rank in the American marine, who has ever been honored with the favor and friendship of Congress, I can receive orders from no inferior officer whatever. My plan was the destruction of the English Baltic fleet, of great consequence to the enemy's marine, and then only protected by a single frigate! I would have held myself responsible for its success, had I commanded the expedition.

"M. de Sartine afterwards sent orders to Count d'Orvilliers to receive me on board the fleet, agreeably to my former proposal; but the order did not arrive until after the departure of the fleet the last time from Brest, nor was I made acquainted with the circumstances before the fleet returned here.

"Then have I been chained down to shameful inactivity for nearly five months. I have lost the best season of the year, and such opportunities of serving my country and acquiring honor, as I cannot again expect this war; and to my infinite mortification, having no command, I am considered everywhere an officer cast off and in disgrace for secret reasons.

"I have written respectful letters to the minister,

none of which he has condescended to answer; I have written to the Prince de Nassau with as little effect; and I do not understand that any apology has been made to the great and venerable Dr. Franklin, whom the minister has made the instrument of bringing me into such unmerited trouble.

"Having written to Congress to reserve no command for me in America, my sensibility is the more affected by this unworthy situation in the sight of your Majesty's fleet. I, however, make no remark on the treatment I have received.

"Although I wish not to become my own panegyrist, I must beg your Majesty's permission to observe that I am not an adventurer in search of fortune, of which, thank God, I have a sufficiency.

"When the American banner was first displayed, I drew my sword in support of the violated dignity and rights of human nature; and both honor and duty prompt me steadfastly to continue the righteous pursuit, and to sacrifice to it, not only my private enjoyments, but even life, if necessary. I must acknowledge that the generous praise which I have received from Congress and others exceeds the merit of my past services; therefore I the more ardently wish for future opportunities of testifying my gratitude by my activity.

"As your Majesty, by espousing the cause of America, hath become the protector of the rights of human nature, I am persuaded that you will not disregard my situation, nor suffer me to remain any longer in this insupportable disgrace.

"I am, with perfect gratitude and profound respect, Sire, your Majesty's very obliged, very obedient, and very humble servant,

"J. Paul Jones."

In a letter of the same date, Jones solicited the Duchess of Chatres to present the foregoing representation to his majesty. He also wrote to Franklin, enclosing it for his inspection, a wise precaution which he adopted in all cases of a similar nature. One of the principal sources of his vexation was the supposition which he believed to be current, that he had incurred the displeasure of his venerated "guide, philosopher, and friend," now the minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles. This rumor he often mentions as the climax of his embarrassments. There is no reason to suppose that the letter to the king was ever delivered.

CHAPTER VIII.

LE BONHOMME RICHARD.

At this time, also, several offers were made to Jones to take command of privateering expeditions. Among others, M. Montieu of Nantes, who had purchased a new ship on which Jones had had his eye, offered him the command of an armament for such purposes. In replying through his friend, Mr. Williams, Jones says: "Were I in pursuit of profit, I should accept the offer without hesitation. But I am under such obligations to Congress that I cannot think myself my own master; and as servant of the imperial republic of America, honored with the public approbation of my past services, serve either myself or even my best friends in any private line whatsoever, unless where the honor and interest of America is the premier object."

On the 30th of November, he wrote to M. Chaumont that, by waiting until that time for orders or powers, he had lost the opportunity of purchasing a suitable ship, and was in great danger of losing a number of American seamen; and that he was about to proceed to L'Orient on his own responsibility, unless otherwise directed by the next post. "If we can do no better, I hope the Duras will answer." "I repeat to you that, if the Alert

were now at my disposal, I could engage a number of American seamen, from a privateer that still remains here." "My best respects and most grateful thanks await the minister, for the very honorable things which he said of me to the Duc de la Rochefoucault. It shall be my ambition, when he gives me opportunities, to merit his favor and affection."

From L'Orient he wrote to the commissioners on December 9th, enclosing the memorial of the prisoners confined there on board the Patience. They were originally two hundred in number, but one hundred and thirty-one alone remained, and it was to be inferred that the others had been suffered to escape. Their condition was a melancholy one. The prisoners had full confidence in Father John, the chaplain of the Duc d'Orvilliers, and begged for an answer through him. The memorial, signed by the officers of the Drake, represented, no doubt, too truly, the miseries they had endured in their close confinement, at a distance from the shore, for seven months. In January following, M. Sartine granted an order for the release of such Americans as would enroll under Jones.

For nearly two months, a singular gap in his indefatigable correspondence, we find no letters to or from Jones preserved among the originals or copies of his papers. His Journal for the king supplies the vacuum. "None of the ships at L'Orient appeared very suitable for the purpose, except one, the 'Marshal de Broglio,' a fine ship, bought soon afterwards by the king, and fitted for war with sixty-four guns."

As nothing was done, Captain Jones determined to go himself to court, to know why he was detained idle in Europe. The minister pressed him to accept the command of the Marshal de Broglio; but Captain Jones was obliged to decline it, as he saw no means to procure a crew of Americans sufficient for that ship.

The king then bought the Duc de Duras, a much smaller ship, of fourteen years old. This ship was given to Captain Jones; and at his request called Le Bonhomme Richard, in compliment to a saying of Poor Richard: "if you would have your business done, come yourself; if not, send."

The official intimation of this appointment was not given by M. de Sartine until the 4th of February, who informed Jones that he was about to give orders for completely fitting and victualing the Duras; that Jones was to hoist the flag of the United States, under the commission he had received from Congress when he left America, and to use his powers to form a ship's company of American volunteers. But he also informed him that it was the king's pleasure that he should raise volunteers to make up the necessary number of his crew.

As to his operation at sea, the minister in fact gave him *carte blanche*, asking only for an account of his proceedings, whenever he should enter a port within the king's dominions. He assented to the ship's changing her name, in compliance with the request of Jones. Jones made his acknowledgments warmly, and in his best style, for the first actual

favor he had received; and a prospect of action opened before him.

"M. Garnier was appointed by the court to arrange a plan for the armament. Four or five sail was to be added to the Bonhomme Richard, two of them to be fire-ships. Five hundred chosen troops were to embark, from one of the Irish regiments, under the command of the Chevalier de Fitz Maurice, who was to be entirely under the command of Captain Jones. A plan was laid between M. Garnier and Captain Jones which promised perfect success; and had it succeeded, would have astonished the world." *

Jones proceeded forthwith to Nantes to engage seamen, several of whom he enlisted at that place; the Americans, as he says, being generally pleased with the character of the "Poor Richard." The ship was calculated to mount only one battery of eighteen-pounders, and he found some difficulty in procuring suitable ordnance to be cast. Writing to M. Garnier from Nantes, he urged that, as the new American frigate, the Alliance, which had been put under the command of a French officer, was then at Brest, it would be a useful addition to the force which was to sail under him. Understanding that Lafayette had brought out the credentials of Franklin as ambassador, and that the Alliance would in consequence be under his control, he suggested that an application should be made to this effect.

* The plan was to attack Liverpool.

From Nantes he went to L'Orient, whence he wrote that finding the necessary cannon could be made at Bordeaux, he should repair there immediately; that he had procured several seamen at Brest and Nantes, and many valuable men for officers; that volunteer soldiers enlisted with him daily, to serve during the war, and that he had accepted the offer of a captain in the American army to command them. After passing several times between Bordeaux and Angoulême, before the contract for casting the cannon was completed, he received on his return to L'Orient, an express summoning him to court. The Marquis de Lafayette had expressed a wish to join with him in an expedition, and command a body of select troops assigned to him by the king for that purpose. Franklin, at the request of the French government, made the Alliance a part of the force, which now began to assume the appearance of an armament with which much might be effected. It was to consist of the Bonhomme Richard, the Alliance, Pallas, Vengeance brig, and Cerf, a remarkably fine cutter.

On his return to L'Orient, he found that two-thirds of the men sent as American volunteers from Nantes were, as he describes them, "unfit to bear arms," a "set of dirty beings," who were to be sent to their homes at an additional expense. The rest were English prisoners, whose names he had blotted out of the list previously, because, during his absence at Bordeaux, they had enlisted to serve in a privateer. He rated very soundly the officer (Mr.

Thompson), under whose auspices these apologies for soldiers were forwarded for his use.

On the 27th of April Franklin addressed to him the following letter, under the impression that Lafayette would co-operate with him. It would be improper to omit it here, though it is found in other collections. Jones duly appreciated the sound sense of its precepts. With Lafayette, as with Franklin, he never would have openly differed. This may be safely affirmed, though he never was put to the test.

"I have, at the request of M. de Sartine, postponed the sending of the Alliance to America, and have ordered her to proceed immediately from Nantes to L'Orient, where she is to be furnished with her complement of men, join your little squadron, and act under your command.

"The Marquis de Lafayette will be with you soon. It has been observed that joint expeditions of land and sea forces often miscarry through jealousies and misunderstandings between the officers of the different corps. This must happen where there are little minds, actuated more by personal views of profit or honor to themselves than by the warm and sincere desire of good to their country. Knowing you both, as I do, and your just manner of thinking on these occasions, I am confident nothing of the kind can happen between you, and that it is unnecessary for me to recommend to either of you that condescension, mutual good will, and harmony which contribute so much to success in

such undertakings. I look upon this expedition as an introduction only to greater trusts and more extensive commands, and as a kind of trial of both your abilities, and of your fitness in temper and disposition for acting in concert with others. I flatter myself, therefore, that nothing will happen that may give impressions to the disadvantage of either of you, when greater affairs shall come under consideration.

"As this is understood to be an American expedition, under the Congress commission and colors, the Marquis, who is a major-general in that service, has of course the step in point of rank, and he must have the command of the land forces, which are committed by the king to his care; but the command of the ships will be entirely in you, in which I am persuaded that whatever authority his rank might in strictness give him, he will not have the least desire to interfere with you. There is honor enough to be got for both of you, if the expedition is conducted with a prudent unanimity. The circumstance is indeed a little unusual; for there is not only a junction of land and sea forces, but there is also a junction of Frenchmen and Americans, which increases the difficulty of maintaining a good understanding; a cool, prudent conduct in the chiefs is therefore the more necessary, and I trust neither of you will in that respect be deficient. With my best wishes for your success, health, and honor, I remain, dear sir, your affectionate and most obedient servant."

On the same day with Franklin, Lafayette wrote to Jones, approving of his measures, and regretting that he heard the cannon were promised to other people. He said that he wished the expedition to be soon over, as his return in the middle of the summer would be useful to the common cause; and he hoped everything would be in readiness by the 7th of May. He did not wish, if it could be avoided, to put land troops on board of the Alliance, because disputes would occur between their officers and Captain Landais.

In reply to Franklin, Jones said: "The letter I had the honor to receive from you to-day, together with your liberal and noble-minded instructions, would make a coward brave. You have called up every sentiment of public virtue in my breast, and it shall be my pride and ambition, in the strict pursuit of your instructions, to deserve success."

And to Lafayette, he wrote as follows: "So flattering and affectionate a proof of your esteem and friendship has made an impression on my mind that will attend me while I live. This I hope to prove by more than words. Where men of fine feelings are concerned there is seldom misunderstanding; and I am sure I should do violence to my sensibility, if I were capable of giving you a moment's pain by any part of my conduct. Therefore, without any apology, I shall expect you to point out my errors, when we are together alone, with perfect freedom, and I think I dare promise you your reproof shall not be lost."

On the 30th of April, he informed M. Chaumont, that if a battery of twenty-eight good twelve-pounders, with others of less caliber could be procured, he was willing to put to sea; that he had on his muster roll 329 officers, seamen, and volunteer soldiers, and would not lie idle for want of men. He expressed his deep regret at the political disappointments his friend M. Garnier had met with.

The proposed co-operation of Lafayette with Jones was soon abandoned for reasons which the general history of the times easily furnishes. Spain was preparing to act with France against England, and her hostile manifesto was delivered by her ambassador a few weeks subsequently. In the attitude in which Great Britain then stood, it was by no means chimerical to anticipate important results from the combined operations of the two fleets. A general invasion was projected; forces were ordered to be raised in the northern provinces of France, and marched to the coast, and general officers were named to conduct the grand enterprise. On the 22d of May, Lafayette wrote to inform Jones of the change in the purposes of the ministry. He simply stated that political reasons had occasioned it, and added, "I am only to tell you, my good friend, how sorry I feel not to be a witness of your success, abilities, and glory." "What will be further determined about your squadron is yet uncertain, and the ministers are to consult with Dr. Franklin." It will be seen, that Jones wrote under a partial, if not total misunderstanding of the causes which led

to a modification of the plan first proposed, in part of the following extract for his journal for the king, though it was composed many years afterwards.

"M. le Ray de Chaumont was appointed commissary of the expenses of the squadron, and unwisely entrusted with the secret of the expedition. The cannon had not arrived for the Bonhomme Richard, and she was in great haste mounted with a battery of indifferent twelve-pounders. Six old-fashioned long eighteen-pounders were mounted in the gun-room; and ports were cut to fight them six on one side. Thus, with the guns on the quarter-deck and forecastle, the Bonhomme Richard mounted forty guns; and with the Alliance of thirty-six, the Pallas of thirty-two, the Cerf of eighteen, and the Vengeance of twelve, composed the little squadron. A crew was hastily procured for the Bonhomme Richard, from among the English prisoners, and by enlisting raw French peasants as volunteers, Captain Jones had not more than thirty Americans among the crew.

"In the Alliance there had been a mutiny on the passage from America, and the captain and officers were ready to cut one another's throats. The first and second lieutenants deserted. The Pallas, a merchant ship, had been built for the king, and hastily fitted at Nantes. The Vengeance was bought by the commissary, and fitted in the same manner. The commissary took upon himself the whole direction at L'Orient, and went far beyond the powers of a commissary; but the secret was too big for him

to keep. All Paris rang with the expedition from L'Orient; and government was obliged to drop the plan, when the squadron lay ready for sea, and the troops ready to embark."

On the 10th and 14th of June, M. Chaumont sent to Jones his official hints and suggestions, as to the government of the fleet, and the disposition of the prizes. He observed, that as the situation of the officers, who had accepted commissions from Congress to join the armament of the Bonhomme Richard, might be in contradiction with the interest of their own ships, he was induced to request Jones to enter into an engagement with him, not to require from those vessels any services, not conformable to the orders such officers might have; and not to make any change in the formation of their crews. He also requested that all prizes might be addressed to such consignees as he should point out, for the preservation of the interests of all concerned.

By the orders of the minister, Jones was at this time employed in giving convoy to a fleet bound for Bordeaux, and other ports in the Bay of Biscay, containing troops, stores, and other merchandise. He was also directed, on his return, to drive the enemy's cruisers out of the bay. This service, he says in his Journal, he performed. On the night of June 20th, while the fleet lay to off Rochefort, "the Bonhomme Richard and Alliance got foul of each other; which carried away the B. H. R.'s head and bowsprit and the Alliance's mizzen-mast."

This accident was allowed on all hands to have been owing to the clumsy management of the Alliance, but it was further supposed that the collision was not altogether unintentional on the part of Landais. Among the articles subsequently attested by the officers of the squadron, the first was, "that the captain of the Alliance did not take the steps in his power to prevent his ship from getting foul of the Bonhomme Richard, in the Bay of Biscay; for, instead of putting his helm a-weather and bearing up to make way for his commanding officer (which was his duty), he left the deck to load his pistols." The offense, however, was visited upon the lieutenant of the Bonhomme Richard, who had the watch, and was broken by a court-martial held shortly afterwards. Jones observes that there were faults on both sides.

On the 21st of June Jones sent the Cerf to reconnoiter two sail. She fell in with a sloop of fourteen guns; and after a warm engagement was obliged to abandon her prize, on the approach of a superior force, and went to L'Orient to refit. The next day three ships-of-war were discerned to windward. They bore down in order; but, finding the squadron prepared to receive them, escaped by superior sailing. A few days after, the Alliance and Pallas separated from the two other ships in a fog. On coming in sight of the road of Groix, the wind being contrary, Jones gave the Vengeance leave to make the best of her way in, and found himself, at the approach of night, near two large frigates. He

steered for them for half an hour, to prepare for action, and then tacked to engage. When they saw this, the pursuers ran away; and, as Jones says, "to his great mortification out sailed the Bonhomme Richard and got clear."

Unapprised of the necessary delay which the repairs of the squadron would create, Franklin addressed to Jones, the same day on which he arrived at the Isle de Groix, the following instructions:

"Being arrived at Groix, you are to make the best of your way with the vessels under your command to the West of Ireland, and establish your cruise on the Orcades, the Cape of Derneus, and the Dogger Bank, in order to take the enemy's property in those seas.

"The prizes you may make send to Dunkirk, Ostend, or Bergen, in Norway, according to your proximity to either of those ports. Address them to the persons M. de Chaumont shall indicate to you.

"About the 15th of August, when you will have sufficiently cruised in these seas, you are to make route for the Texel, where you will meet my further orders.

"If by any personal accident you should be rendered unable to execute these instructions, the officer of your squadron next in rank is to endeavor to put them in execution."

In the letter from Jones, giving an account of his proceedings, which crossed these instructions on the

road, he said: "I have traversed the Gulf de Gascogne, over and over, both within and without soundings, from half a degree to the southward of the island of Bordeaux, to the Ras passage, in sight of Brest. I have fallen in with and chased various other ships and vessels, which I believe were enemies, but all such as I have been able to overtake proved either Dutch, Spanish, or other neutral property." "If the court is yet disposed to give me the ship which they at first offered, I think it possible in the present situation of my affairs to make a useful and honorable cruise that way, with the force now under my command, and afterwards to bring that ship out with the crew I now have."

Franklin stated in reply: "I have no other orders to give; for, as the court is at the chief expense, I think they have the best right to direct. I observe what you write about a change of the destination; but when a thing has been once considered and determined on in council, they do not care to resume the consideration of it, having much business on hand, and there is not now time to obtain a reconsideration." He threw out, however, the consoling intimation, that it had been hinted to him that "the intention of ordering the cruise to finish at the Texel, was with a view of getting out the Indien; but this should be kept a secret." He confirmed absolutely the instructions of M. Chaumont; and added the following significant postscript:

"If it should fall in your way, remember that the Hudson's Bay ships are very valuable."

On the 2d of July, the Alliance and Pallas arrived with an Irish brig laden with wine, etc., which they had captured, and the squadron went to L'Orient for repairs. The Pallas, Cerf, and Vengeance were ordered on a short cruise, from which they returned without effecting anything of consequence.

The Bonhomme Richard, on inspection, at L'Orient, was found too old for necessary alterations, and fit only for extemporary service. The bowsprit was found to be sprung, which required attention. The Alliance was also hove down and careened. "Notwithstanding," Jones wrote to Franklin, "the little squadron will not be detained, so as to interfere with the execution of your orders. When we meet with the enemy's property of no great value, or that cannot be conveniently sent into ports, would it not be proper to 'sink, burn, or otherwise destroy' such property? I have had such charge in my instructions from Congress; and it is therefore that I mention it now. I would also beg leave to ask, whether I may or may not attempt to avail myself of every opportunity that may seem to present itself to distress the enemy." In a marginal note, he says, "I have ever made this my study."

In pursuance of the desire of M. de Sartine, M. Chamillard de Varville was admitted to the command *en second* of the Bonhomme Richard. On the 19th Franklin lengthened the cruise, at De Sartine's request, to the end of September, to give a longer time for finishing it at the Orcades. On the 26th Jones wrote Franklin that he had advices

that the Jamaica fleet would sail homewards, escorted by a fifty-gun ship and two frigates, and that he should certainly engage them if he fell in with them, though his ships would probably be too much cut up to prevent the escape of the convoy. He urged the convenience of attaching the Monsieur frigate, a privateer, to his command, which had been spoken of when he was at Paris, and which would give him a superiority over the convoy.

On the 28th he wrote, in relation to the proceedings of a court-martial which had been held for the trial of several alleged offenses, on board the Bonhomme Richard. Notwithstanding the "martial spirit" shown by his seamen in the affair with the two frigates, he observed a mutinous disposition among the English, "who remained on board from necessity, and not from choice," after he had been forbidden to enlist the French seamen. He had learned from Franklin that accounts of these insurrectionary symptoms had reached the ears of M. de Sartine, with whom he was not in immediate correspondence; and was much annoyed by it. While the proceedings before the court-martial were pending, the suggestions made by Jones to Franklin are creditable to his good sense. Two quartermasters were charged with conspiracy at sea, against whom the evidence was strong. "Should any person," he says, "be condemned to death, I will suspend the execution of the sentence, until I have your orders on the subject. In the meantime, as I wish to give no offense in a foreign port, I submit

to you, whether it would not be better to make this proceeding known at Versailles. Should I depart from thence, before I receive your orders, if there be any sentence of death, I will leave the condemned in prison on shore; and you may be assured that the court will proceed with due circumspection and lenity, as far as may be consonant with the rules of the service." The sentences of this court, however, except in the case of the lieutenant of the Bonhomme Richard, who was cashiered, as before mentioned, amounted only to whipping.

Any further delay than that which repairs occasioned would have been particularly vexatious at this time, as in compliance with the minister's desire, Franklin would have given orders to the Alliance to sail on a separate cruise. One hundred and nineteen American prisoners had arrived in a cartel at Nantes, and M. Chaumont paid a visit to the seaboard to obtain a better crew for the Bonhomme Richard. On the eve of his departure, he informed Franklin in a note that it would probably be necessary to retard the sailing of that vessel, until she was more properly manned; in which case M. de Sartine desired that Captain Landais might have orders to put to sea forthwith from L'Orient to cruise on the north of Scotland until the end of September.

The strange commander of the Alliance, if he did not instigate this order, would no doubt have been well pleased with its going into effect. What figure he would have cut upon the coasts, on his own

account, cannot be conjectured. But the visit of M.Chaumont was in every respect unacceptable to Jones, who told the minister, "this second journey of M. Chaumont was altogether unnecessary; as I had, before his arrival at L'Orient, sent officers to Nantes to enlist Americans, and had also enlisted as many of the strangers as were willing to embark at L'Orient."

The contents and date of a letter addressed to Jones' eldest sister about this time, which has been accidentally preserved, make us acquainted with a pleasing trait in his character, which should not be overlooked, though it here interrupts the current of the narrative. The letter is dated Cork, June 1st, and encloses a bill of exchange drawn for thirty pounds sterling on a person in Carlisle, in favor of Captain Pliance, a friend of Jones' relations, for whose use he had made the remittance. The drawee could not be heard of, and, with similar remittances which Jones had made from time to time, this failed in coming to the hands of those for whom it was destined. But the circumstances, with many others, some of which will appear, proves that he never forgot or ceased to cherish those who were nearest to him in blood. In reply to a letter from his sister, Mrs. Taylor, at a subsequent period, informing him of the death of his mother and eldest sister, he says, "The loss of those dear friends is the more affecting to me, as they never received the remittances I intended for them, and as they had not, perhaps, a true idea of my affection."

The Monsieur, described as a fine privateer of forty guns, and the Grandville of fourteen, joined the squadron. Their captains, Jones says, "requested him to permit them to follow his motions, and share his fortune; and offered to come under any obligation not to leave the squadron. But the commissary thought fit to leave the privateers to act on the great scale of honor, and would hear of no obligation being taken from them."

M. Chaumont was either instructed, or deemed it necessary, to require the commanders of the squadron to sign a paper, called a concord. Jones subsequently complained that it was imposed upon him at the moment of departure, and said he would have rejected it with indignation if offered at the beginning. It is to be observed, however, that, having read it, he did sign it; and that, in his earlier letters to M. Chaumont after sailing, he made no allusion to it.

By this instrument, the five captains, Jones, Landais, Cottineau, Varage, and Ricot, "composing a squadron to be commanded by the oldest officer of the highest grade, and so on in succession, in case of death or retreat," agreed that, unless separated from the squadron by order of the minister, each should act only by virtue of the brevet which they should have obtained from the United States, whose flag was to be displayed. The division of prizes to the officers and crews was to be made according to the American laws; but the proportion of each vessel was to be regulated by the minister of the French marine and the American minister. A copy of the

American laws was to be annexed to the agreement, after having been certified by Jones. Where their provisions were inadequate, the matter was to be determined as above mentioned. The orders of the French minister of marine and of the American plenipotentiary were to be executed. The prizes were to be remitted to M. le Ray de Chaumont, who had furnished the expenses of the armament of the squadron, and who was to be requested not to give up the part of the prizes accruing to all the crews, and to any individual of the squadron, but to their order, and to be answerable in his own name. Armed vessels, whether French or American, might be associated with the squadron by common consent, and have such proportion of the prizes as the laws of their respective countries allowed. In case of the death of a commander, he was to be replaced according to the order of the tableau; with liberty to the person entitled, however, to remain in his own vessel and yield the vacancy to the next. In case of any accident happening to M. Varage, of the Cerf, he was to be replaced by his second in command, etc.

On the face of these articles there appears nothing that does not seem plain and equitable.

On the 10th of August Jones issued his circular to the captains of the squadron, directing them never to chase so as to lose company, and, if separated from the Bonhomme Richard, to open their letters of rendezvous.

At daybreak on the 14th of August the squadron sailed from Groix, consisting of seven sail, including

the two privateers. "Unfortunately," says Jones, "there was neither secrecy nor subordination. Captain Jones saw his danger; but, his reputation being at stake, he put all to the hazard." On the 18th they "retook a large ship belonging to Holland, laden chiefly with brandy and wine, that had been destined from Barcelona for Dunkirk and taken eight days before by an English privateer. The captain of the Monsieur, however, took out of this prize such articles as he pleased in the night, and the next day, being astern of the squadron and to windward, he actually wrote orders in his proper name, and sent away the prize under one of his own officers." The commodore, however, not understanding the propriety of this disposition of die Verwagting (the name of the Dutch ship), sent her to L'Orient, with a letter to M. Chaumont; and the Monsieur, after detaining the squadron for twenty-four hours, by lagging behind, separated from it altogether. On the 21st a brigantine was taken, loaded with provisions, from Limerick to London, and sent to L'Orient. On the 23d, in sight of Cape Clear and the south-west part of Ireland, Jones had the first specimen of what he was to expect from Captain Landais. We quote from his official account:

"That afternoon, it being calm, I sent some armed boats to take a brigantine that appeared in the north-west quarter. Soon after, in the evening, it became necessary to have a boat ahead of the ship to tow, as the helm could not prevent her from laying across

the tide of flood, which would have driven us into a deep and dangerous bay, situated between the rocks on the south called the Skallocks, and on the north called the Blaskets. The ship's boats being absent, I sent my own barge ahead to tow the ship. The boats took the brigantine; she was called the Fortune, and bound with a cargo of oil, blubber, and staves, from Newfoundland for Bristol; this vessel I ordered to proceed immediately for Nantes or St. Malo. Soon after sunset the villains who towed the ship cut the tow rope and decamped with my barge. Sundry shots were fired to bring them to, without effect; in the meantime the master of the Bonhomme Richard, without orders, manned one of the ship's boats, and with four soldiers pursued the barge in order to stop the deserters. The evening was clear and serene, but the zeal of that officer, Mr. Cutting Lunt, induced him to pursue too far, and a fog which came on soon afterward prevented the boats from rejoining the ship, although I caused signal guns to be frequently fired. The fog and calm continued the next day till towards evening. In the afternoon, Captain Landais came on board the Bonhomme Richard and behaved toward me with great disrespect, affirming in the most indelicate manner and language that I had lost my boats and people through my imprudence in sending boats to take a prize! He persisted in his reproaches, though he was assured by Messrs. De Weibert and De Chamillard that the barge was towing the ship at the time of elopement, and that she had not been sent in pur-

suit of the prize. He was affronted, because I would not the day before suffer him to chase without my orders, and to approach the dangerous shore I have already mentioned, where he was an entire stranger, and where there was not sufficient wind to govern a ship. He told me he was the only American in the squadron, and was determined to follow his own opinion in chasing when and where he thought proper, and in every other matter that concerned the service; and that, if we continued in that situation three days longer, the squadron would be taken."

This account of the behavior of Landais on this occasion is confirmed, with immaterial variations, by several respectable officers present. His gestures were as violent and indecorous as his language. Colonel Weibert says: "The commodore did not say to M. Landais, 'you lie,' but, 'it is an untruth' (referring to the manner in which the boats had been lost), which M. Landais was pleased to interpret as a formal giving the lie; who was never able to overcome his peevish, obstinate, turbulent, and ungovernable temper, which he constantly showed during the whole of the campaign." He adds that Landais rendered his insulting expressions in English immediately into French; in order that M. Chamillard, who was present, might apprehend their import.

The Cerf was sent to reconnoiter the coast, and endeavor to recover the boats and people. After standing off and on the coast till the evening of the

26th, neither the Cerf nor the boats appeared. The Cerf, Jones says in his Journal, was seen by Mr. Lunt, the master, on the day she was sent to reconnoiter; and he approached her gladly, "but that cutter then hoisting English colors and firing at the boat, the unhappy Mr. Lunt imagined himself mistaken, landed, and was made prisoner. Thus Captain Jones lost from the crew of the Bonhomme Richard the master and another officer, with twenty of his best seamen. Mr. Lunt was reconducted to a wretched dungeon in England, where he formerly had long experience of English cruelty, from whence, it is reported, he was at last relieved by death." The cutter was not subsequently found at the first or second rendezvous. She had returned to France; and the Grandville having secured a prize, on the 26th, followed her example.

The evening of that day was very stormy; and, against his own judgment, as he says, but in consequence of assertions made by Landais, he left a station where he would have preferred remaining a week longer. In his Journal for the king, he says, "It was his intention to cruise off the southwest coast of Ireland for twelve or fifteen days, in order to interrupt the enemy's homeward bound East India ships, that he had been informed from England would return without convoy, and steer for that point of land. But Captain Landais of the Alliance began to speak and act as though he had not been under the command of Captain Jones; and made great objections to remaining on that coast, express-

ing apprehensions, that the enemy would send a superior force." Jones made the signal for the course, and steered to the northward; but Captain Landais chose to alter his course two points by the compass, on the same night, and was not seen again until the 31st, when he rejoined the squadron with a letter of marque, which he had taken, of twenty guns, bound from Liverpool for Jamaica, with a valuable cargo. He appeared in sight while Jones was giving chase to another letter of marque, off Cape Wrath, which proved to be the Union, of twenty-two guns, from London for Quebec, with a cargo of great value, consisting of sails, rigging, anchors, cables, etc., etc., for the enemy's vessels on the lakes. Neither of these vessels made any resistance.

Owing to Landais hoisting American colors, though English were flying on board the Bonhomme Richard, the public despatches on board the Union were lost. Landais sent a quaint message, to know whether Jones or he should man the prize; as, in the latter case, he would suffer no boat nor person from the Bonhomme Richard to go near her. Ridiculous as this was, Jones says he yielded to it for the sake of peace, and received the prisoners on board his ship, while the prize was manned from the Alliance. On the same afternoon, and on the next morning, Landais refused to obey Jones' signals, and on the 3d of September acted in direct opposition to his orders, in relation to the two prizes he had been ordered to bring to the ren-

dezvous. He sent them to Bergen in Norway, where they were given up to the English by the Danish government.

In the evening of the 4th the commodore sent for the captains to come on board of his ship, to consult on future operations. Landais refused to comply, and sent back several uncivil messages, and an extraordinary letter. Mr. Mease, the purser, a very gallant man, at first alone, and subsequently with Captain Cottineau and M. Chamillard, in vain went on board of the Alliance, to intercede with the doughty sea Achilles. He "spoke of Captain Jones in terms highly disrespectful and insolent; and said he would see him on shore, when they must kill one or the other," etc.

A gale commenced blowing on the afternoon of the 5th, which continued for some days, and Landais separated from his consorts with two small prizes which he had picked up. The Pallas and Vengeance alone remained with the Bonhomme Richard; and the winds continued contrary, so that land was not seen until the evening of the 13th, when the Cheviot hills in the south of Scotland became visible. Jones proceeds to say in his Journal: "Though much weakened and embarrassed with prisoners, he was anxious to teach the enemy humanity, by some exemplary strokes of retaliation, and to relieve the remainder of the Americans from captivity, in England, as well as to make a diversion in the north, to favor a formidable descent which he then expected would have been made on the south side of Great Britain, under

cover of the great combined fleet. He sent for the captains of the Pallas and Vengeance, and communicated to them his intentions; but, after spending the whole night, all his arguments on the side of honor and humanity failed. He then spoke to their ruling passion, and showed them a large heap of gold, at the end of the prospect. He was now heard with attention; and they entered warmly into his project, which was, to lay Leith, and perhaps Edinburgh, under a contribution." He was apprised that an armed ship of twenty guns and two or three fine cutters lay in Leith road; and, had he been alone he says, "the wind being favorable, I would have, proceeded directly up the Frith, and must have succeeded; as they lay there in a state of perfect indolence and security, which would have proved their ruin. Unfortunately for me, the Pallas and Vengeance were both at a considerable distance in the offing; they having chased to the southward; this obliged us to steer out of the Frith again to meet them."

The prospect of levying 200,000 pounds upon the inhabitants of Leith having prevailed upon the French commanders to assent to the enterprise, every order was given for taking the guard ship and cutters, and every disposition made for landing troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Chamillard. The summons to the magistrates of Leith, and the capitulation they were to sign were prepared; but "so much time had been unavoidably spent in pointed remarks and sage deliberations that night, that the wind became contrary in the morning."

The following note, in his own handwriting, is subjoined to a copy of this summons: "N. B.—The sudden and violent storm which arose in the moment when the squadron was abreast of Keith Island (Inchkeith Island), which forms the entrance of the road of Leith, rendered impracticable the execution of the foregoing project." Jones did not, however, abandon readily what he had so resolutely undertaken, notwithstanding he must have been aware, as was the fact, that the alarm had become general on the shore, and in the interior. An express reached Edinburgh on the 15th, announcing that three strange ships were seen off Eyemouth on the afternoon of the preceding day, and that a ship, supposed to mount forty or fifty guns, had been seen off Dunbar. At 5 P. M. on the 15th they were distinctly seen from Edinburgh, sailing up the Frith of Forth; but whether they were French vessels, or the squadron of Paul Jones, was not ascertained. Batteries were hastily erected at Leith, and the trades petitioned for arms, which were supplied from the castle of Edinburgh. So runs the oft-told story which I transcribe. Jones says: "We continued working to windward up the Frith without being able to reach the road of Leith, till on the morning of the 17th, when, being almost within cannon-shot of the town, having everything in readiness for a descent, a very severe gale of wind came on, and being directly contrary, obliged us to bear away, after having in vain endeavored for some time to withstand its violence. The gale was so severe

that one of the prizes that had been taken on the 14th sunk to the bottom, the crew being with difficulty saved. As the alarm by this time had reached Leith, by means of a cutter that had watched our motions that morning, and as the wind continued contrary (though more moderate in the evening), I thought it impossible to pursue the enterprise with a good prospect of success; especially as Edinburgh, where there is always a number of troops, is only a mile distant from Leith; therefore I gave up the project."

An incident which showed how much the spectators on shore were yet in the dark occurred on the 16th, which Jones thus relates in his Journal: "A member of the British Parliament sent off a boat from the north shore, to give information that he was greatly afraid of Paul Jones, and begging for some powder and shot. Captain Jones set his fears to rest by sending him a barrel of powder, with a kind message, but had no suitable shot." The principal messenger he detained as pilot for the road of Leith. It appears that he also employed the captain of a small collier, taken on the 15th, to assist him by his knowledge of the coast; and when he afterwards abandoned the enterprise, he gave this man up his vessel, "on account of his attachment to America, and the faithful information and important services he rendered by his general knowledge of the east coast of Britain. I had given orders to sink the old vessel, when the tears of this honest man prevailed over my intention."

Thus were the good citizens of Leith preserved from the necessity of opening their coffers, when two tacks more would have brought Jones alongside the enemy in the road. He would not yet give up the design of effecting some enterprise of pith upon the coast. He treated the humors of the wind as policy and necessity compelled him to treat those of his absent associate, Landais; and, as soon as the gale abated, he endeavored to prevail on the captains of the Pallas and Vengeance to co-operate. But these gentlemen did not like the "glory" they had got, the gale, or the preparation on shore. M. Cottineau told him that a superior force would be sent against him; and that, if he continued two days longer on the coast, they would all be taken. Being aware, by some means, which Jones ascribed to the communicativeness of M. Chaumont, of the limitation of the cruise, and its termination at the Texel, one of the captains informed a lieutenant of the Bonhomme Richard that "they would leave the commodore if he did not agree to steer for the port of destination." Setting aside the question of subordination, the gallantry of these gentlemen is not to be impeached. They felt like men attacking in the dark, with a comparatively ridiculous force, a fortress, the strength of which they had reason to suppose was great. Jones knew the weakness of some of the outworks; but he had not yet had opportunities to convince them of his extraordinary shrewdness, local information, and capacity to execute designs, which to them appeared visionary.

Their education (independent of their national feeling, involving personal and professional pride, not unallied to captious jealousy), had been probably *selon les regles.* Jones had educated himself as to detail, and had learned from Count d'Orvilliers the duties of a commander of great fleets. With his force at that time, provided he did not contravene the laws of Congress, his own moral sense, or what would seem justifiable in the eyes of Dr. Franklin, he was not particular as to the manner in which he "retaliated" upon the enemy. He found it, however, necessary to yield to the opposition of the French commanders. In his official account, he says: "I am persuaded even now that I would have succeeded; and, to the honor of my young officers, I found them as ardently disposed to the business as I could desire; nothing prevented me from pursuing my design but the reproach that would have been cast upon my character, as a man of prudence, had the enterprise miscarried. It would have been said, 'Was he not forewarned by Captain Cottineau and others?'"

Many coasters and colliers were taken, several of which were sunk by the squadron in the Frith of Forth. Much damage was done to the coal trade; but it is unnecessary to weary the reader with particulars. Captain Cottineau undertook to ransom a sloop, though Jones had told him previously he had no authority to ransom prizes. It was probably an inexcusable act, and the commodore does not subsequently dwell upon it.

CHAPTER IX.

BATTLE WITH THE SERAPIS.

And now, after having agonized through a period of fifteen months, during which hope was not only deferred, but crucified in each lunar circle; after having set sail with a force that mocked all the promises made to him, in an old ship, fit only for a great sacrifice by which her rotten timbers might be eternized; after having been abandoned by half of his squadron, and having taken a few prizes, of which the most valuable had been lost by disobedience and caprice, Captain Jones was making for the Texel, in that frame of mind which heroic projectors of original enterprises, who have been foiled by the weakness of their agents and the ever varying elements, can alone understand.

The battle between the Bonhomme Richard and the Serapis must always be told to disadvantage, if not in the words of the conqueror. It was fought on the evening and in the night of September 23d, under a bright and beautiful harvest moon, and its issue awaited by multitudes (thousands, it is said), who watched the engagement from the shore. The remark often made, that it has no parallel in the history of naval engagements, has no exception of

which we are aware, if restricted to those between ships of civilized nations. The official account of Jones follows:

"On the 21st we saw and chased two sail off Flamborough Head; the Pallas chased in the N. E. quarter, while the Bonhomme Richard, followed by the Vengeance, chased in the S. W.; the one I chased, a brigantine collier in ballast, belonging to Scarborough, was soon taken, and sunk immediately afterwards, as a fleet then appeared to the southward. This was so late in the day that I could not come up with the fleet before night; at length, however, I got so near one of them as to force her to run ashore between Flamborough Head and the Spurn. Soon after I took another, a brigantine from Holland, belonging to Sunderland, and at daylight the next morning, seeing a fleet steering towards me from the Spurn, I imagined them to be a convoy bound from London for Leith, which had been for some time expected. One of them had a pennant hoisted, and appeared to be a ship of force. They had not, however, courage to come on, but kept back, all except the one which seemed to be armed, and that one also kept to the windward, very near the land, and on the edge of dangerous shoals, where I could not with safety approach. This induced me to make a signal for a pilot, and soon afterwards two pilots' boats came off. They informed me that a ship that wore a pennant was an armed merchantman, and that a king's frigate lay there in

sight, at anchor, within the Humber, waiting to take under convoy a number of merchant ships bound to the northward. The pilots imagined the Bonhomme Richard to be an English ship-of-war, and consequently communicated to me the private signal which they had been required to make. I endeavored by this means to decoy the ships out of the port; but the wind then changing, and with the tide becoming unfavorable for them, the deception had not the desired effect, and they wisely put back. The entrance of the Humber is exceedingly difficult and dangerous, and as the Pallas was not in sight, I thought it imprudent to remain off the entrance, therefore steered out again to join the Pallas off Flamborough Head. In the night we saw and chased two ships until three o'clock in the morning, when, being at a very small distance from them, I made the private signal of reconnoissance, which I had given to each captain before I sailed from Groix: one half of the answer only was returned. In this position both sides lay to till daylight, when the ships proved to be the Alliance and the Pallas.

"On the morning of that day, the 23d, the brig from Holland not being in sight, we chased a brigantine that appeared laying to, to windward. About noon we saw and chased a large ship that appeared coming round Flamborough Head, from the northward, and at the same time I manned and armed one of the pilot boats to send in pursuit of the brigantine, which now appeared to be the vessel that I had forced ashore. Soon after this, a fleet of forty-

one sail appeared off Flamborough Head bearing N. N. E. This induced me to abandon the single ship which had then anchored in Burlington Bay; I also called back the pilot boat, and hoisted a signal for a general chase. When the fleet discovered us bearing down, all the merchant ships crowded sail towards the shore. The two ships-of-war that protected the fleet at the same time steered from the land, and made the disposition for battle. In approaching the enemy, I crowded every possible sail, and made the signal for the line of battle, to which the Alliance showed no attention. Earnest as I was for the action, I could not reach the commodore's ship until seven in the evening, being then within pistol shot, when he hailed the Bonhomme Richard. We answered him by firing a whole broadside.

"The battle, being thus begun, was continued with unremitting fury. Every method was practised on both sides to gain an advantage, and rake each other; and I must confess that the enemy's ship, being much more manageable than the Bonhomme Richard, gained thereby several times an advantageous situation, in spite of my best endeavors to prevent it. As I had to deal with an enemy of greatly superior force, I was under the necessity of closing with him, to prevent the advantage which he had over me in point of maneuver. It was my intention to lay the Bonhomme Richard athwart the enemy's bow; but as that operation required great dexterity in the management of both sails and helm, and some of our braces being shot away,

it did not exactly succeed to my wish. The enemy's bowsprit, however, came over the Bonhomme Richard's poop by the mizzen-mast, and I made both ships fast together in that situation, which, by the action of the wind on the enemy's sails, forced her stern close to the Bonhomme Richard's bow, so that the ships lay square alongside of each other, the yards being all entangled, and the cannon of each ship touching the opponent's. When this position took place, it was eight o'clock, previous to which the Bonhomme Richard had received sundry eighteen-pound shots below the water, and leaked very much. My battery of twelve-pounders, on which I had placed my chief dependence, being commanded by Lieutenant Dale and Colonel Weibert, and manned principally with American seamen and French volunteers, was entirely silenced and abandoned. As to the six old eighteen-pounders that formed the battery of the lower gun-deck, they did no service whatever, except firing eight shot in all. Two out of three of them burst at the first fire, and killed almost all the men who were stationed to manage them.

"Before this time, too, Colonel de Chamillard, who commanded a party of twenty soldiers on the poop, had abandoned that station after having lost some of his men. I had now only two pieces of cannon (nine-pounders) on the quarter-deck, that were not silenced, and not one of the heavier cannon was fired during the action. The purser, M. Mease, who commanded the guns on the quarter-

deck, being dangerously wounded in the head, I was obliged to fill his place, and with great difficulty rallied a few men, and shifted over one of the lee quarter-deck guns, so that we afterwards played three pieces of nine-pounders upon the enemy.

"The tops alone seconded the fire of this little battery, and held out bravely during the whole of the action, especially the maintop, where Lieutenant Stack commanded. I directed the fire of one of the three cannon against the main-mast, with double-headed shot, while the other two were exceedingly well served with grape and canister shot, to silence the enemy's musketry and clear the decks, which was at last effected. The enemy were, as I have since understood, on the instant of calling for quarter, when the cowardice or treachery of three of my under-officers induced them to call to the enemy. The English commodore asked me if I demanded quarter, and I having answered him in the most determined negative, they renewed the battle with double fury.

"They were unable to stand the deck; but the fire of their cannon, especially the lower battery, which was entirely formed of ten-pounders, was incessant; both ships were set on fire in various places, and the scene was dreadful beyond the reach of language. To account for the timidity of my three under-officers, I mean, the gunner, the carpenter, and the master-at-arms, I must observe that the first two were slightly wounded, and, as the ship had received various shot under water, and one of

the pumps being shot away, the carpenter expressed his fears that she would sink, and the other two concluded that she was sinking, which occasioned the gunner to run aft on the poop, without my knowledge, to strike the colors. Fortunately for me, a cannon ball had done that before, by carrying away the ensign-staff ; he was therefore reduced to the necessity of sinking, as he supposed, or of calling for quarter, and he preferred the latter.

"All this time the Bonhomme Richard had sustained the action alone, and the enemy, though much superior in force, would have been very glad to have got clear, as appears by their own acknowledgments, and by their having let go an anchor the instant that I laid them on board, by which means they would have escaped, had I not made them well fast to the Bonhomme Richard.

"At last, at half-past nine o'clock, the Alliance appeared, and I now thought the battle at an end; but, to my utter astonishment, he discharged a broadside full into the stern of the Bonhomme Richard. We called to him for God's sake to forbear firing into the Bonhomme Richard ; yet they passed along the off-side of the ship, and continued firing. There was no possibility of his mistaking the enemy's ship for the Bonhomme Richard, there being the most essential difference in their appearance and construction. Besides, it was then full moonlight, and the sides of the Bonhomme Richard were all black, while the sides of the prize were all yellow. Yet, for the greater security, I showed

the signal of our reconnoissance, by putting out three lanterns, one at the head, another at the stern, and the third in the middle, in a horizontal line.

"Every tongue cried that he was firing into the wrong ship, but nothing availed; he passed round, firing into the Bonhomme Richard's head, stern, and broadside, and by one of his volleys killed several of my best men, and mortally wounded a good officer on the forecastle only. My situation was really deplorable; the Bonhomme Richard received various shot under water from the Alliance; the leak gained on the pumps, and the fire increased much on board both ships.

"Some officers persuaded me to strike, of whose courage and good sense I entertain a high opinion. My treacherous master-at-arms let loose all my prisoners without my knowledge, and my prospects became gloomy indeed. I would not, however, give up the point.

"The enemy's main-mast began to shake; their firing decreased fast; ours rather increased, and the British colors were struck at half an hour past ten o'clock."

The main-mast went by the board just as the enemy struck, so both Captain Jones and Captain Pearson report.

Jones notices it as very remarkable how well the three light quarter-deck guns were seized during the whole action, and the confusion that ensued when

the water was gaining below, the ships alternately catching fire from each other, the Alliance firing at the Bonhomme Richard, and the prisoners set loose.

"He got one of the off guns over soon after the Alliance raked the first time, but could never muster strength sufficient to bring over the other." In the clear moonlight, the enemy's mast being painted yellow, the flames of the main shrouds, etc., made the main-mast a distinct mark.

"There was no occasion for a boat or bridge between the two ships. Captain Pearson stepped on board the Bonhomme Richard, and delivered up his sword to Captain Jones, who returned it to him, because he had bravely used it. He then heard, and the next morning saw, with astonishment, the inferior force and mangled condition of the Bonhomme Richard.

"This prize proved to be the British ship-of-war Serapis, a new ship of forty-four guns, built on the most approved construction, with two complete batteries, one of them of eighteen-pounders, and commanded by the brave Commodore Richard Pearson. I had yet two enemies to encounter, far more formidable than the British, I mean fire and water. The Serapis was attacked only by the first; but the Bonhomme Richard was assailed by both; there was five feet of water in the hold, and though it was moderate from the explosion of so much gunpowder, yet the three pumps that remained could with difficulty only keep the water from gaining.

The fire broke out in various parts of the ship, in spite of all the water that could be thrown in to quench it, and at length broke out as low as the powder magazine, and within a few inches of the powder.

"In that dilemma, I took out the powder upon deck, ready to be thrown overboard at the last extremity, and it was ten o'clock the next day, the 24th, before the fire was entirely extinguished.

"With respect to the situation of the Bonhomme Richard, the rudder was cut entirely off, the stern frame and transoms were almost entirely cut away, and the timbers by the lower deck, especially from the main-mast towards the stern, being greatly decayed with age, were mangled beyond the power of description, and a person must have been an eye-witness to form a just idea of the tremendous scene of carnage, wreck, and ruin, which everywhere appeared.

"The Bonhomme Richard received little damage in her masts; but was cut entirely to pieces between decks, especially from the main-mast to the stern. In that space, there was an entire break on both sides, from the gun-deck, almost to the water's edge; so that towards the end of the action, almost all the shot of the Serapis had passed through the Bonhomme Richard, without touching. The rudder and transoms were cut off; and here and there an old rotten timber, besides the stern-post, was the only support that prevented the stern from falling down on the gun-room deck. Eight or ten of the

Bonhomme Richard's men took away a fine cutter boat, that had been at the stern of the Serapis during the action, and landed at Scarborough. Some others were so much afraid as to swim on board the Alliance after the action.

"After the carpenters, as well as Captain Cottineau and other men of sense, had well examined and surveyed the ship (which was not finished before five in the evening), I found every person to be convinced that it was impossible to keep the Bonhomme Richard afloat so as to reach a port, if the wind should increase, it being then only a very moderate breeze. I had but little time to remove my wounded, which now became unavoidable, and which was effected in the course of the night and next morning.

"I was determined to keep the Bonhomme Richard afloat, and, if possible, to bring her into port. For that purpose, the first lieutenant of the Pallas continued on board with a party of men to attend the pumps, with boats in waiting ready to take them on board, in case the water should gain on them too fast. The wind augmented in the night, and the next day, the 25th, so that it was impossible to prevent the good old ship from sinking. They did not abandon her till after nine o'clock; the water was then up to the lower deck, and a little after ten I saw, with inexpressible grief, the last glimpse of the Bonhomme Richard. No lives were lost with the ship, but it was impossible to save the stores of any sort whatever. I lost even the best

part of my clothes, books, and papers; and several of my officers lost all their clothes and effects.

"Captain Cottineau engaged the Countess of Scarborough, and took her, after an hour's action, while the Bonhomme Richard engaged the Serapis. The Countess of Scarborough is an armed ship of twenty six-pounders, and was commanded by a king's officer. In the action, the Countess of Scarborough and the Serapis were at a considerable distance asunder; and the Alliance, as I am informed, fired into the Pallas and killed some men.

"If it should be asked why the convoy was suffered to escape, I must answer that I was myself in no condition to pursue, and that none of the rest showed any inclination; not even Mr. Ricot, who had held off at a distance to windward during the whole action, and withheld by force the pilot boat with my lieutenant and fifteen men. The Alliance, too, was in a state to pursue the fleet, not having a single man wounded, or a single shot fired at her from the Serapis, and only three that did execution from the Countess of Scarborough, at such a distance that one stuck in the side, and the other two just touched, and then dropped into the water. The Alliance killed one man only on board the Serapis. As Captain de Cottineau charged himself with manning and securing the prisoners of the Countess of Scarborough, I think the escape of the Baltic fleet cannot so well be charged to his account.

"I should have mentioned that the main-mast and mizzen-top-mast of the Serapis fell overboard,

soon after the Captain had come on board the Bonhomme Richard."

The official loss of the wounded on board the Serapis, of whom eight had died when it is dated, September 30th, amounts to 68, besides a few whose names could not be ascertained. Of the dead there is no official return before me. In the roll of the Bonhomme Richard's equipage, published in Sherburne's Collections, 42 are returned killed, and 40 wounded. There are, however, but 228 names on this imperfect document, which is without date or vouched; and in which the master, Mr. Cutting Lunt, is called the third lieutenant, Mr. Stacey, acting master, the master, etc. Captain Pearson says, "Our loss in the Serapis was very great." Jones says in his Journal for the king:

"By a return of the surgeon of the Serapis, they had an hundred men dangerously wounded on board that ship in the action. Their loss appears to be that number killed. They having taken on board some East India seamen at Copenhagen, over and above their complement, their crew appears to have been four hundred effective men, when the action began. Captain Jones had but three hundred and eighty, good and bad, when he left France. He had manned several prizes, which, with desertions on the coast of Ireland and Scotland, and the absence of the pilot boat, with two officers and sixteen of his best men, reduced him to three hundred and

forty, including the disaffected, which were a great majority of the whole, as they were chiefly British, who had enlisted from the prisons of France.

"It may also be observed, the officers and men placed in the gun-room, sixty in number, did not discharge a second shot, nor otherwise assist, and cannot properly be said to have been in the action. To say nothing of the damage done by the Countess of Scarborough and the Alliance, the enemy was superior in cannon, as 576 is to 390, besides a greater superiority of men; and had thirteen feet three inches between her guns; whereas, the guns of the Bonhomme Richard were only nine feet six inches asunder.

"Captain Jones took command of the Serapis, and erected jury-masts. After tossing about to and fro in the North Sea, for ten days, in contrary winds and bad weather, in order to gain the port of Dunkirk, on account of the prisoners, the captains under his command, after some cabal, bore away for the Texel, and left him to windward, with the choice to follow or proceed. (Captain Jones never had three hours' sleep in the twenty-four, in the whole campaign, from L'Orient to the Texel.) The squadron anchored off the Texel the 3d of October, 1779; and they persisted in working into the port, though the wind was fair for Dunkirk the next morning."

CHAPTER X.

IN THE TEXEL.

In the blaze of his renown, and with the spoil of his victory, Jones was a second time to contend with a series of difficulties, more intricate than the court intrigues which had before exhausted his patience; but not, fortunately, so protracted, before he was to leave the port he had entered in triumph. This he effected with all his honor saved, gained additional fame by his perfect seamanship, and was directly and materially instrumental in producing an open rupture between England and Holland. It is not doubted that this contingency was contemplated, when he had orders to make the Texel his port of destination.

The reader will have understood the difficulties which prevented any vessels or naval stores intended for the service of the United States from being openly taken out of the ports of Holland, a nominally neutral power, which had not yet recognized the independence of the abjuring Colonies, and was bound to England by ancient treaties. Both the letter and the spirit of these had indeed been violated; and so far as that of 1678, which bound their high mightinesses to break with any aggressor against their ally, it had been treated as obsolete. And

they were preparing to accede to the system of an armed neutrality, proposed by Russia, though the treaty was not signed until the middle of the following year. The merchants of Amsterdam and the Grand Pensionary were earnestly desirous of the success of the American arms. Secret negotiations had been pending, and the form of a treaty of amity and commerce was found among the papers of Mr. Laurens, thrown overboard by him previous to his capture, but recovered, which led the government of Britain to give immediate attention to all that was passing in the ports of Holland, and to give particular instructions to their minister, Sir Joseph Yorke, who faithfully executed them.

M. de la Sartine addressed Franklin on the 5th of September, in relation to the scheme of bringing out the Indien and other ships, designated as Dutch and neutral, which were at the king's charge, and sundry munitions of war, which the minister styles, "très intéressantes," from the ports of Holland into those of France. He had given orders, he said, that they should be in readiness by the expiration of the month, when the limitation of Jones' cruise would expire; in order that he might attend to them, under the instructions of the American ambassador. A copy of this letter awaited Jones on his arrival in the Texel road, with a request from Franklin that "he would do his utmost to render the service therein mentioned effectual; which would, in the then pending instance, be very advantageous to the common cause, and very acceptable to his majesty."

"It would be well for him," it was added, "to keep his intention of conveying those vessels as secret as possible, lest notice of it should be sent to England, and ships placed to intercept him." Jones has made a memorandum on this passage, which has been already referred to: "I found our object in the public papers, when I arrived in Holland; and Sir Joseph Yorke had sent off an express to England, informing also that part of my business here would be to take out the Indien. I was then under the necessity to represent the want of secrecy of M. Chaumont to court, and to complain of his conduct towards me in the affair of the Concordat."

As the eyes of the English ministry were fixed upon Holland, and there was no lack of agents to give them information, that of M. Chaumont would seem, at the present day, to have been gratuitous. Nor was there any want of ships to intercept Jones. The battle with the Serapis had not been fought in a corner.

The following is an extract from the London *Chronicle* under date of October 17th, 1779:

"Amsterdam, October 7th.—Last Tuesday Paul Jones, with the prizes Serapis and Scarborough, entered the Texel, and this day he appeared on the Exchange, where business gave way to curiosity. The crowd pressing upon him, by whom he was styled the terror of the English, he withdrew to a room fronting a public square, where Monsieur Donneville, the French agent, and the Americans,

paid him such a volley of compliments and such homage as he could only answer with a bow; he was dressed in the American uniform, with a Scotch bonnet edged with gold; is of a middling stature, stern countenance, and swarthy complexion. It was supposed he was going to Paris to receive the congratulations of the Grand Monarque and Dr. Franklin; but I am now informed he is gone to the Hague to solicit the French ambassador the repair of his shipping, which if he should succeed in, he will probably elude the vigilance of a 74-gun ship waiting before the Texel."

Immediately on arriving in the Texel road, on the 3d of October, he addressed an account of his cruise to the American ambassador, copies of which were sent to the President of Congress, and to the French minister. The conclusion of this despatch was as follows:

"I am in the highest degree sensible of the singular attention which I have experienced from the court of France, which I shall remember with perfect gratitude until the end of my life, and will always endeavor to merit, while I can, consistent with my honor, continue in the public service. I must speak plainly; as I have been always honored with the full confidence of Congress, and as I also flattered myself with enjoying in some measure the confidence of Monsieur de Chaumont, when, in the moment of my departure from Groix, he produced

a paper, a concordat, for me to sign, in common with the officers whom I had commissioned but a few days before. Had that paper, or even a less dishonorable one, been proposed to me at the beginning, I would have rejected it with just contempt, and the word displacement, among others, should have been necessary. I cannot, however, even now suppose that he was authorized by the court to make such a bargain with me. Nor can I suppose that the minister of the marine meant that M. de Chaumont should consider me merely a colleague with the commanders of the other ships, and communicate to them not only all he knew, but all he thought, respecting our destination and operations. M. de Chaumont has made me various reproaches on account of the expense of the Bonhomme Richard, wherewith I cannot think I have been justly chargeable. M. de Chamillard can attest that the Bonhomme Richard was at least far from being well fitted or armed for war. If any person or persons, who have been charged with the expense of that armament have acted wrong, the fault must not be laid to my charge. I had no authority to superintend that armament, and the persons who had authority were so far from giving me what I thought necessary, that M. de Chaumont even refused, among other things, to allow me irons to secure the prisoners-of-war.

"In short, while my life remains, if I have any capacity to render good and acceptable services to the common cause, no man will step forth with

greater cheerfulness and alacrity than myself; but I am not made to be dishonored, nor can I accept of the half-confidence of any man living. Of course I cannot, consistent with my honor, and a prospect of success, undertake future expeditions, unless when the object and destination is communicated to me alone, and to no other person in the marine line. In cases where troops are embarked, a like confidence is due alone to their commander-in-chief. On no other condition will I ever undertake the chief command of a private expedition; and when I do not command in chief, I have no desire to be in the secret.

"Upon the whole, the captain of the Alliance has behaved so very ill in every respect that I must complain loudly of his conduct. He pretends that he is authorized to act independent of my command; I have been taught the contrary; but, supposing it to be so, his conduct has been base and unpardonable. M. de Chamillard will explain the particulars. Either Captain Landais or myself is highly criminal, and one or the other must be punished. I forbear to take any steps with him until I have the advice and approbation of your excellency. I have been advised by all the officers of the squadron to put M. Landais under arrest; but, as I have postponed it so long, I will bear with him a little longer, until the return of my express.

"We this day anchored here, having since the action been tossed to and fro by contrary winds. I wished to have gained the road of Dunkirk on ac

count of our prisoners, but was overruled by the majority of my colleagues. I shall hasten up to Amsterdam and there, if I meet with no orders for my government, I will take the advice of the French ambassador. It is my present intention to have the Countess of Scarborough ready to transport the prisoners from hence to Dunkirk, unless it should be found more expedient to deliver them to the English ambassador, taking his obligation to send to Dunkirk, etc., immediately an equal number of American prisoners. I am under strong apprehensions that our object here will fail, and that through the imprudence of M. de Chaumont, who had communicated everything he knew or thought on the matter, to persons who cannot help talking of it at a full table. This is the way he keeps state secrets, though he never mentioned the affair to me."

Hitherto, deeming it unwise to break with M. Chaumont, and feeling that personal regard, which supposed grounds for complaint against its object had not overcome, Jones had not directly intimated to him the charges of moral weakness, which he had made in his letters of a confidential character. The communication of those charges was now inevitable; and in the following letter, written on the same day on which the account of the cruise is dated, it will be seen that, acting on his impression that his correspondent's mind was not well balanced, he expressed himself with a happy mixture of frankness and dexterity.

"On Board the Ship-of-War the Serapis, at Anchor without the Texel, *Oct.* 3, 1779.

"M. le Ray De Chaumont, à Passy,—

"The original of the enclosed copy of my last letter, written on board the Bonhomme Richard, off the southwest coast of Ireland, the 24th of August, as well as the papers which preceded it, and to which it alludes, I hope duly reached the hands of my friend M. de Chaumont, and explained to his satisfaction my conduct from the time I left Groix until that date. For the full history of my expedition, I must beg leave to refer you to a letter of this date, which accompanies this, to his excellency Dr. Franklin, who will, if you demand it, furnish you a copy.

"I wish to act a candid part towards all men, and therefore wish you to have a copy of that letter that you may see my sentiments respecting the 'concordat,' which you imposed upon me in the moment of my departure from Groix. What could have inspired you with such sentiments of distrust towards me, after the ocular proofs of hospitality which I so long experienced in your house, and after the warm expressions of generous and unbounded friendship, which I had constantly been honored with in your letters, exceeds my mental faculties to comprehend. I am, however, yet willing to give you an opportunity of rendering justice to my character. I cannot think you are personally my enemy. I rather imagine that your conduct towards me at L'Orient has arisen from the base mis-

representations of some secret villainy; therefore, I am, with unaltered sentiments of good-will and affection for yourself and family,

"My dear friend,

"Your obliged, humble servant."

The most offensive provision of the concordat was, it may be presumed, that which gave the commanders the right to succeed in order, in case of death or retreat. Without this privilege, it is not probable that they would have agreed to sail on the projected cruise. But the independence which it made them feel no doubt gave rise to the want of subordination, which Jones had so much reason to complain of.

On the 5th Jones addressed the Duke de la Vauguyon, ambassador of France at the Hague. The return of his prisoners was not completed, but he rated it at three hundred and fifty, of whom one hundred and thirty were wounded. The total number, however, exceeded five hundred. He asked the advice of the ambassador, as to what measures he should adopt in relation to them; and whether it would be advisable to set them free at the Texel, on such security as might be obtained for the liberation of an equal number of Americans in England, or to send them to Dunkirk in the Countess of Scarborough, which was not fit for service, and the Vengeance, which might return with as many recruits as could be obtained. He also stated his inability to comply with the instructions received from Franklin, through

M. Dumas, without great and instant assistance. Though the hull of the Serapis was not too much damaged to be easily repaired, she wanted entirely new masts and rigging, sails, boats, and provisions.

On the 9th Sir Joseph Yorke sent his official communication to their high mightinesses, in relation to the presence of the squadron. As it is brief, we insert it.

"High and Mighty Lords,—

"The undersigned, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the King of Great Britain, has the honor to communicate to your high mightinesses, that two of his Majesty's ships, the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough, arrived some days ago in the Texel, having been attacked and taken by force, by a certain Paul Jones, a subject of the King, who, according to treaties and the laws of war, can only be considered as a rebel and a pirate. The undersigned is therefore in duty bound to recur to your high mightinesses and demand their immediate orders that those ships with their officers and crews may be stopped, and he especially recommends to your humanity, to permit the wounded to be brought on shore, that proper attention may be paid to them, at the expense of the King his master.

"Yorke."

When writing to Dr. Franklin, on the 11th, Jones was not apprised of this memorial having been presented. He stated that he was doing all in his power

to act upon the advice given by the French ambassador. He also expressed his determination to keep the captain of the Serapis in his hands, as a hostage, until Captain Cunningham, who was a prisoner in England, should be released. He said, "I wish heartily that poor Cunningham (whom I am taught to regard as a continental officer) was exchanged; as with his assistance I could form a court-martial, which I believe you will see unavoidable." Of Captain Landais, he says: "He has come up here, and purposes, after gadding about in this city, to figure away at the Hague. He continues to affect an entire independence of my control, and has given in here an extraordinary demand for supplies of every kind. This famous demand, however, I have ventured to disapprove, and reduced to, I believe, a fourth part of its first extent. I hope to account to your satisfaction for my reasons; among which is his having been so plentifully and so lately furnished."

The letter from Franklin, dated on the 15th of October, in reply to the despatches of Jones, dated the 3d, was as follows, and must have been so gratifying to him who received it that it needs no commentary; but every line, including the postscript, is worthy of attention:

"I received the account of your cruise and engagement with the Serapis, which you did me the honor to send me from the Texel. I have since received your favor of the 8th from Amsterdam. For some days after the arrival of your express, scarce any-

thing was talked of at Paris and Versailles but your cool conduct and persevering bravery during that terrible conflict. You may believe that the impression on my mind was not less strong than that of others; but I do not choose to say in a letter to yourself all I think on such an occasion.

"The ministry are much dissatisfied with Captain Landais, and Monsieur de Sartine has signified to me in writing that it is expected that I should send for him to Paris, and call him to account for his conduct, particularly for deferring so long his coming to your assistance; by which means, it is supposed, the States lost some of their valuable citizens, and the King lost many of his subjects, volunteers in your ship, together with the ship itself.

"I have, accordingly, written to him this day, acquainting him, that he is charged with disobedience of orders in the cruise, and neglect of his duty in the engagement; that a court-martial being at this time inconvenient, if not impracticable, I would give him an earlier opportunity of offering what he has to say in his justification, and for that purpose direct him to render himself immediately here, bringing with him such papers or testimonies as he may think useful in his defense. I know not whether he will obey my orders, nor what the ministry would do with him if he comes; but I suspect that they may, by some of their concise operations, save the trouble of a court-martial. It will, however, be well for you to furnish me with what you may judge proper to support the charges against

him, that I may be able to give a just and clear account to Congress. In the meantime it will be necessary, if he should refuse to come, that you should put him under an arrest; and in that case, as well as if he comes, that you should either appoint some person to the command, or take it upon yourself; for I know of no person to recommend to you as fit for that station.

"I am uneasy about your prisoners (504 in number), I wish they were safe in France. You will then have completed the glorious work of giving liberty to all the Americans that have so long languished for it in the British prisons; for there are not so many there, as you have now taken.

"I have the pleasure to inform you that the two prizes sent to Norway are safely arrived at Bergen.

"With the highest esteem, I am, etc.

"B. Franklin.

"P. S. I am sorry for your misunderstanding with M. de C. who has a great regard for you."

From the contents of a note from Captain Pearson to Jones, written on the 19th of this month, it is to be inferred that the former was not apprised of the application made by Sir Joseph Yorke to their high mightinesses; or, at least, of its terms and tenor. He charged Jones very plainly with a breach of the civility due to his rank, as well as his behavior on all occasions, and expressed his opinion that the detention of himself and his people on board ship for so long a time was an unprecedented thing

Jones informed him that the memorial of Sir Joseph, of which he enclosed him a copy, had induced him to think it fruitless to pursue negotiations for the exchange of prisoners; but that humanity had made him seek for permission to land the dangerously wounded. The consent of the government had been obtained, but the local magistrates still raised objections. His reply was couched in terms of moderation, highly commendable, if we consider the epithets which the English ambassador had applied to him, and the bold, blunt style of Pearson's note. The resolutions of their high mightinesses upon the application of the English ambassador was delivered to him on the 25th. It was prudently worded, setting forth that, for a century, the States-General had strictly observed it as a maxim, never to pretend to judge of the legality or illegality of captures of vessels brought into the ports of the republic not belonging to it; that they only opened their ports to give shelter to those making such captures from storms or disasters, and obliged them to put to sea again without unloading; that they were not authorized to pass judgment upon either the prizes or the person of Paul Jones; and that they had already evinced their willingness to discharge the offices of humanity, by the orders they had given in relation to the wounded prisoners.

Sir Joseph Yorke, from his long residence at the Hague, had obtained great influence over the Prince of Orange, and what might be called the court party, as those opposed to English dictation were termed

the French party. He was rewarded afterwards with a peerage for his services as a minister. He was far from being satisfied with the negative protection yielded by the States-General to "the pirate Paul Jones," as he again called him in a memorial presented on the 29th. In this communication, after thanking their high mightinesses for their orders in relation to the wounded, he added: "I cannot but comply with the strict orders of his majesty, by renewing in the strongest and most pressing manner his request, that these ships and their crews may be stopped and delivered up, which the pirate Paul Jones, of Scotland, who is a rebel subject and a criminal of the state, has taken."

The States replied as before that they would not pass judgment on the legality of the captures, and would act under the terms of their placard. In pursuance of their resolution, and of an order from the Prince of Orange, Jones prepared to remove the wounded to the fort on the Texel; having permission to place sentinels to guard them, to raise the drawbridge at his pleasure, and remove his prisoners if he saw fit. On the 31st an agreement was entered into between Jones and Pearson, agreeably to these arrangements.

On behalf of his government, Captain Pearson agreed that all British prisoners so landed should be considered prisoners-of-war until exchanged; and, in case any of them should desert, he engaged that an equal number of American prisoners should be released in England and sent to France by the

next cartel. In cases of death, Jones stipulated not to claim an exchange.

On the 1st of November, Jones gave his formal orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Weibers, appointing him governor-general over the wounded and the soldiers who were to conduct them on shore, and directing him to take care that no cause of complaint should be given to the Dutch government or its subjects.

On the 28th of October Jones wrote to Lafayette, and the following is an extract from the letter:

"I wish to answer very particularly the three points which you have propounded. 1st, I never meant to ask a reward for my services, either from France or America; consequently the approbation of the court and of Congress is all the gratification I can wish for. 2dly, I yet intend to undertake whatever the utmost exertion of my abilities will reach in support of the common cause, as far as any force that may in future be entrusted to my direction may enable me to succeed; I hope, however, my future force will be better composed than when I sailed from L'Orient. I must sail from the Texel in course of next month, because ships cannot afterward remain here in this road. My destination or route from hence I yet know not; but I need not tell you that I wish to see your face! 3dly, It is now in vain to say what might have been done two years ago with the force you mention; but I believe,

if properly supported by sea, such a force might yet perform very essential service. There is no guarding, you know, against storms; and one would wish either to avoid or to outsail a superior sea force. As I believe you know my way of thinking on such subjects, I shall offer you no argument. I know you want no prompter."

Charges against Landais were drawn up by the officers of the squadron on the 30th of October, and attested by them. They were twenty-five in number, and have already been sufficiently adverted to. The last was that, in coming into the Texel, Landais declared that, if Captain Jones should hoist a broad pennant, he would, to vex him, hoist another.

The nature of the embarrassments with which Jones was beset at this time will best appear from his own accounts. He says briefly, in his Journal, that "with the most indefatigable attention and industry, gales of wind and other circumstances prevented him from having the Serapis remasted, and the squadron ready to sail, before the middle of November." On the 4th of that month he thus wrote to the French ambassador:

"My Lord,—

"This morning, the commandant of the road sent me word to come and speak to him on board his ship. He had before him on the table a letter, which, he said, was from the Prince of Orange. He questioned me very closely whether I had a French

commission, and if I had, he almost insisted upon seeing it. In conformity to your advice I told him that my French commission not having been found among my papers since the loss of the Bonhomme Richard, I feared it had gone to the bottom in that ship; but that, if it was really lost, it would be an easy matter to procure a duplicate from France. The commandant appeared to be very uneasy and anxious for my departure. I have told him that, as there are eight of the enemy's ships lying in wait for me at the south entrance, and four more at the north entrance, of the port, I was unable to fight more than three times my force; but that he might rest assured of my intention to depart with the utmost expedition, whenever I found a possibility to go clear.

"I should be very happy, my lord, if I could tell you of my being ready. I should have departed long ago, if I had met with common assistance; but for a fortnight past I have every day expected the necessary supply of water from Amsterdam in cisterns, and I am last night informed that it cannot be had without I send up water casks. The provision, too, that was ordered the day I returned to Amsterdam from the Hague, is not yet sent down; and the spars that have been sent from Amsterdam are spoiled in the making. None of the ironwork that was ordered for the Serapis is yet completed, so that I am, even at this hour, in want of hinges to hang the lower gun ports. My officers and men lost their clothes and beds in the Bonhomme

Richard, and they have yet got no supply. The bread that has been twice a week sent down from Amsterdam to feed my people has been, literally speaking, rotten, and the consequence is, that they are falling sick.

"It is natural also that they should be discontented, while I am not able to tell them that they will be paid the value of their property in the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough, if either or both of them should be lost or taken after sailing from hence.

"Thus you see, my lord, that my prospects are far from pleasing. I have but few men, and they are discontented. If you can authorize me to promise them, at all hazards, that their property in the prizes shall be made good, and that they shall receive the necessary clothing and bedding, etc., or money to buy them, I believe I shall soon be able to bring them again into a good humor. In the meantime, I will send a vessel or two out to reconnoiter the offing, and to bring me word. Whatever may be the consequence of my having put into this harbor, I must observe that it was done contrary to my opinion; and I consented to it only because the majority of my colleagues were earnest for it."

M. de Sartine had determined upon a measure which prevented Jones from immediately attempting an escape, and from carrying out, under the flag to which she had stuck, the dearly-bought Serapis. On the 6th of November that minister thus briefly

wrote to Dr. Franklin: "Circumstances require that the expedition of the squadron, under the orders of Mr. Jones, should terminate at the Texel. It seems indispensable to give a new destination to the different ships which compose it. You are at liberty, sir, to dispose of the American frigate, the Alliance, according to the views you may entertain in relation to the service of the United States. I pray you only to observe to Mr. Jones, or any other officer to whom you may entrust the command, that he must not have any subject of the king on board of that frigate." The minister had resolved to adopt the shortest course in relation to the vessels which were the property of France, and probably had no doubt that Jones would be willing to accept a commission from that government, to extricate himself from his now solitary and dangerous position. He was mistaken.

In communicating a copy of this note to Jones, Franklin observed that the injunction as to the king's subjects might extend to Landais, who had not yet arrived. He remarked: "I suppose you will learn the intentions of the minister, relative to the disposition of the prizes, from the ambassador; and that you will go on board the Alliance yourself. I am anxious that the prisoners should be safely lodged in France, and should earnestly recommend that matter to your attention if I did not know that you desire, as much as I do, the exchange of our poor countrymen."

While these unpleasant documents were on their

way, the Dutch vice-admiral had on the same day given him notice that he was expected to sail with the first fair wind. This officer, named Reynst, had been appointed to the command of the Dutch fleet, consisting of thirteen men-of-war, by the Prince of Orange. Mr. Rimersina, a friend of America, and who had treated the squadron with every civility, was removed from that command.

On the 7th of November, Duke de Vauguyon informed M. Dumas, that the States of Holland had come to the conclusion, by a plurality of votes, to constrain Jones to depart, and directed him to repair forthwith to the Texel, and make the necessary arrangements. On the 19th, the States-General resolved that they would persist in maintaining their ancient maxim, not to decide upon the legality of captures under foreign flags, which maxim, they added, was even founded upon treaties; but that they had already given evident proof of their not wishing to render any aid to the inhabitants of the British colonies in America, by giving orders that Jones should be furnished with no munitions of war or other articles, other than were necessary to enable him to make the nearest port; and that, in case of necessity, they would even constrain him to sail, as soon as his vessels could keep the sea, and the wind permitted. They repeated an express disavowal of their intending, by any implication, to recognize the independence of the Colonies. And they directed the Admiralty college at Amsterdam to advise Jones, that the approaching season of winter would

make his departure inconvenient; to avoid which, it was necessary that he should let no opportunity escape of putting to sea; "that such was the serious intention of their high mightinesses, and they could not expect that by opposing it, he would oblige them to take measures which would be disagreeable to him."

M. Dumas relates, that he repaired to the Texel on the 18th, and that the arrangements made necessary by the orders of Sartine and Franklin, were prosecuted during the ten following days; the vice-admiral giving a great deal of trouble, particularly after receiving his instructions founded on the resolutions of the States-General. Though the wind was contrary, he was unremitting in his urgency and even threats of violence.

On the 24th, his captain *en second* visited the squadron and read aloud a paper, which he then returned to his pocket. M. Dumas, foreseeing, as he says, the contents, had prepared a reply; demanding, in future, copies of all orders and menaces, in order that they might be transmitted to Congress and to Dr. Franklin.

To another pressing message on the 28th, M. Dumas caused an answer to be given, "in a high voice, before all the crews and the rowers of the boat which brought the messenger, that the vice-admiral exacted impossibilities." This declaration he made the pilot sign, and they were then left undisturbed for ten days.

Jones had indeed made up his mind to comply

with the triple requisitions of France, Dr. Franklin, and the States-General. The order Franklin found it necessary to grant, involved the delivery of the prisoners to the French ambassador. The Serapis and Countess of Scarborough were also taken from under Jones' orders. It was not without a pang that he resigned the command of the former vessel; which had recently cost the British government a large sum of money, was a new ship, and sufficiently refitted for sea. He found it imperatively necessary to remove to the Alliance, on board of which alone the American flag was now flying.

The Alliance had not a good cable or sail; the officers and men were intemperate and idle; filth, insubordination, and epidemical diseases prevailed among the crew; she was badly supplied with small arms, and her powder was of bad quality. The latter wants Jones was, however, enabled to supply, from the superfluous number of small arms found on board the Serapis, and the powder which had been transferred to the Pallas from the Bonhomme Richard, when the latter ship was on fire, the morning after the action. He also had two cables, procured for the Serapis at Amsterdam; without which the Alliance would have been lost in the gales that prevailed at the Texel, before she sailed from thence, when all her other cables broke.

On the 1st of December, meditating his departure at all hazards, whenever the wind should serve (which, however, it did not until the 27th), we find Jones returning his thanks to Captain Rimersina for

his personal civilities, and the attention shown to the American flag, while he had commanded in the road.

The final arrangement adopted in relation to the prisoners, by the express wish of his majesty the King of France, was, that they should be exchanged for French prisoners at the Texel; France giving the same number in France, to exchange against the Americans in England. This was effected with a great deal of difficulty. The hundred of whom Jones speaks, in the letter to Franklin last quoted from, were the sick and wounded who had been landed at the Fort, and whom he persevered in retaining, under his express agreement with Captain Pearson.

A proposition to give Jones a French commission was now made by direction of M. de la Sartine, and communicated by the ambassador, which excited the indignation of Jones in no small degree; and it will not be thought, under all the circumstances, that he expressed it in language, either too strong or not sufficiently respectful. He thus addressed the French ambasssador, on the 13th of December:

"My Lord,—

"Perhaps there are many men in the world who would esteem as an honor the commission that I have this day refused. My rank from the beginning knew no superior in the marine of America; how then must I be humbled were I to accept a

letter of marque! I should, my lord, esteem myself inexcusable, were I to accept even a commission of equal denomination to that I bear, unless I were previously authorized by Congress, or some other competent authority in Europe. And I must tell you, that on my arrival at Brest from the Irish Channel, Count d'Orvilliers offered to procure for me from court, a commission of 'Captaine de Vaisseau,' which I did not then accept for the same reason, although the war between France and England was not then begun, and of course the commission of France would have protected me from an enemy of superior force.

"It is a matter of the highest astonishment to me that, after so many compliments and fair professions, the court should offer the present insult to my understanding, and suppose me capable of disgracing my present commission. I confess that I never merited all the praise bestowed on my past conduct, but I also feel that I have far less merited such a reward. Where profession and practise are so opposite, I am no longer weak enough to form a wrong conclusion. They may think as they please of me; for where I cannot continue my esteem, praise or censure from any man is to me a matter of indifference.

"I am much obliged to them, however, for having at last fairly opened my eyes, and enabled me to discover truth from falsehood.

"The prisoners shall be delivered agreeable to the orders which you have done me the honor to

send to me, from his excellency the American ambassador in France.

"I will also with great pleasure, not only permit a part of my seamen to go on board the ships under your excellency's orders, but I will also do my utmost to prevail with them to embark freely; and if I can now or hereafter, by any other honorable means, facilitate the success or the honor of his majesty's arms, I pledge myself to you as his ambassador, that none of his own subjects would bleed in his cause with greater freedom than myself, an American.

"It gives me more pain, my lord, to write this letter, because the court has enjoined you to prepare what would destroy my peace of mind, and my future veracity in the opinion of the world.

"When, with the consent of court and by order of the American ambassador, I gave American commissions to French officers, I did not fill up those commissions to command privateers, nor even for a rank equal to that of their commissions in the marine of France. They were promoted to rank far superior; and why? not from personal friendship, nor from any knowledge of their services and abilities (the men and their characters being entire strangers to me), but from the respect which I believed America would wish to show for the service of France.

"While I remained eight months seemingly forgot by the court at Brest, many commissions such as that in question were offered to me; and I

believe (when I am in pursuit of plunder) I can still obtain such an one without application to court.

"I hope, my lord, that my behavior through life will ever entitle me to the continuance of your good wishes and opinion, and that you will take occasion to make mention of the warm and personal affection with which my heart is impressed towards his majesty.

"I am, etc., etc., etc."

To Franklin, to whom he enclosed a copy of this letter, he broke out in terms less constrained.

On the 27th of December, the wind serving, he set sail from the Texel, leaving, to use the musty proverb, the frying-pan, in which he had been so long kept hot, at the risk of encountering the fire, with which the English cruisers would have been well pleased to have favored him. From the Alliance, at sea, he wrote on this day to M. Dumas:

"I am here, my dear sir, with a good wind at east, and under my best American colors—so far you have your wish. What may be the event of this critical moment I know not; I am not, however, without good hopes. Through the ignorance or drunkenness of the old pilot, the Alliance last night got foul of a Dutch merchant ship, and I believe the Dutchman cut our cable. We lost the best bower anchor, and the ship was brought up with the sheet anchor so near the shore that this

morning I have been obliged to cut the cable in order to get clear of the shore, and that I might not lose this opportunity of escaping from purgatory."

His Journal for the king contains the following account of this nice and successful operation of seamanship: "He passed," he states, "along the Flemish banks, and, getting to windward of the enemy's fleets of observation in the North Sea, he the next day passed through the Straits of Dover, in full view of the enemy's fleet in the Downs. The day following Captain Jones ran the Alliance past the Isle of Wight, in view of the enemy's fleet at Spithead, and in two days more got safe through the Channel, having passed by windward in sight of several of the enemy's large two-decked cruising ships.

"Captain Jones wished to carry with him some prizes and prisoners to France; but the Alliance, by the arrangement Captain Landais had made of her ballast at L'Orient, was out of trim, and could not sail fast, her sails being too thin and old for cold latitudes. He steered to the southward, and cruised for some days without success off Cape Finisterre.

"On the 16th of January, 1780, Captain Jones, to shun a gale of wind and procure a sound anchor (for he had left the Texel with only one), ran into Corogne. He was very kindly received in Spain,

but sailed again, and arrived at Groix on the 10th of February, having taken no prizes; but met with and conducted in the American merchant ship Livingston, with a large cargo of tobacco, from Virginia for Bordeaux."

CHAPTER XI.

THE ALLIANCE FRIGATE.

From the fatigues Jones had undergone, his health was impaired, and when he anchored at Groix, he was almost blind from the soreness of his eyes. He went up to L'Orient for a change of air, whence he addressed Franklin on the 13th of February.

His first object was to repair the Alliance; and he set about his preparations for that business with a zeal, and on a scale, which the economical Franklin in vain endeavored to control and reduce. The cutwater of that vessel had been wrenched out of its place, and her trim could not be regained without altering the arrangement of the ballast, which, Jones says, he understood "Captain Landais had extended along the ceiling from the stem post to the stern; an idea that I believe he may without vanity call his own."

Jones had ordered canvas and cordage from Amsterdam. He also proposed to sheathe the bottom with copper, if it could be afforded. The other ships left in the Texel road had arrived in France, the Dutch fleet giving them convoy. The Serapis was at L'Orient, and her conqueror wished she could be made the property of America. The Countess

of Scarborough was at Dunkirk. The American minister found himself compelled to use the language of supplication.

"As to refitting your ship at the expense of this court," he said, "I must acquaint you that there is not the least probability of obtaining it, and therefore I cannot ask it. I hear too much already of the extraordinary expense you made in Holland, to think of proposing an addition to it, especially, as you seem to impute the damage she has sustained more to Captain Landais' negligence than to accidents of the cruise. The whole expense will, therefore, fall upon me, and I am ill provided to bear it, having so many unexpected calls upon me from all quarters. I, therefore, beg you would have mercy on me, put me to as little charge as possible, and take nothing you can possibly do without. As to sheathing with copper, it is totally out of the question. I am not authorized to do it, if I had money; and I have not money for it, if I had orders. The purchase of the Serapis is in the same predicament. I believe the sending canvas and cordage from Amsterdam has already been forbidden; if not, I shall forbid it. I approve of your applying to Messrs. Gourlade and Moylan for what repairs you want, having an exceeding good opinion of those gentlemen; but let me repeat it, for God's sake be sparing, unless you mean to make me a bankrupt, or have your drafts dishonored, for want of money in my hands to pay them."

To this earnest exhortation, Jones said in reply, "I feel your reasons for urging frugality; and as I have not hitherto been among the most extravagant servants of America, so you may depend upon it, my regard for you will make me particularly nice in my present situation." In his answer to questions subsequently proposed by the American Board of Admiralty, which had now been established, Jones gives a truly deplorable account of the condition of the Alliance, which, on being thoroughly examined, proved deficient and inconvenient in its original construction, and altogether ill contrived. The essential repairs were finished by the middle of April, by the crew of the ship and four or five American carpenters. The materials of the old arrangement nearly sufficed to finish the new.

Jones says: "Judges allowed that, when the business was finished, everything about that frigate was perfect. I know not what was the amount of the disbursements." In his Journal for the king he says: "She was thought one of the completest frigates in France."

It was Franklin's intention to send the Alliance back as soon as she should be in condition to make the voyage. Jones would not have opposed this purpose; though it may fairly be supposed that the interest he took in the disposition which might be made of his prizes did not make him anxious to expedite his departure while this was uncertain, and his crew were without either wages or prize money. We have no reason to believe that he made any un-

necessary delay, when the thorough repairs the Alliance underwent are considered.

Four gentlemen, one of whom was Mr. Arthur Lee, were desirous of coming out to America by that opportunity, and Jones had promised to "pay the most cheerful regard to their accommodation." Franklin also wished to send to the United States large supplies of arms and clothing (15,000 stand of good arms, and 120 bales of public cloth), of which Jones said, "he hoped to be able to cram a great part, if not the whole, into the Alliance." This could not have been done with any convenience, without a material change in the arrangement of the ship.

On the 1st of March Franklin wrote that M. Sartine desired a place for another passenger, and expressed a wish that room should be made for Mr. Brown of South Carolina. He added: "Captain Landais has demanded of me an order to you, to deliver him his trunks and things that were left on board the Alliance. I find him so exceedingly captious and critical, and so apt to misconstrue as an intended injustice every expression in a language which he does not immediately understand, that I am tired of writing anything for him or about him, and am determined to have nothing further to do with him. I make no doubt, however, that you will deliver his things to any person he may empower to receive them, and therefore think such an order unnecessary. . . . Dr. Bancroft, being by this time with you, will take all steps possible to promote your refitting and forward the payment of

the prize money. I do not comprehend what the weight of metal has to do with the division, unless when ships are fitted out by different armers. I hope your indisposition will soon be over, and your health reestablished."

On the 4th of the same month Franklin wrote to the president of Congress that Jones would carry the Alliance home, unless prevailed on to enter another service, which he did not think likely; that Landais had not applied to be replaced in her, and had expressed to him and to other persons his dissatisfaction with his officers, and his inclination on that account to leave her. This lunatic who was subject to be tried as an American officer, by a court-martial, was also liable, as a subject of France, and as holding its commission, to the summary jurisdiction exercised in that country.

He was now, however, instigated by meddling individuals, and prompted by his own solemn vanity, to ask to be placed in the command of the Alliance. He wrote to this effect on the 17th of March. The answer of Franklin was plain and severe enough: "No one ever learned the opinion of you from inquiry made into your conduct. I kept it entirely to myself. I have not even hinted it in my letters to America, because I would not hazard giving to any one a bias to your prejudice. By communicating a part of that opinion privately to you I can do no harm, for you may burn it. I should not give you the pain of reading it, if your demand did not make it necessary. I think you, then, so imprudent, so

litigious, and quarrelsome a man, even with your best friends, that peace and good order, and consequently the quiet and regular subordination so necessary to success, are where you preside impossible. These are within my observation and apprehension. Your military operations I leave to more capable judges. If, therefore, I had twenty ships-of-war in my disposition, I should not give one of them to Captain Landais. The same temper which excluded him from the French marine would weigh equally with me. Of course I should not replace him in the Alliance."

Previous to the letter of Franklin, of March 4th, the Board of Admiralty had resolved to order the Alliance home, with such supplies as she could bring out. It had been judged necessary to detach four ships to guard the harbor of Charleston, which left the coasts exposed to the depredations of the enemy's armed vessels from New York. On the surrender of Charleston in May following, these four frigates fell into the hands of the enemy.

On the 18th of March Franklin wrote that, after his despatches should have been received, with some of the supplies, he knew of nothing to prevent Jones from proceeding immediately to such port in North America as he could reach with safety.

He said: "I wish the prize money due to your people could be paid before you go. I have spoken often about it." He mentioned that it was thought doubtful whether anything could be recovered by peaceable means for the prizes surrendered in Nor-

way. "The ships-of-war you took are, I hear, to be valued, the king intending to purchase them; and the muster roll of the Bonhomme Richard is wanting in order to regulate the proportions to each ship. These things may take time. I have considered that the people of the Bonhomme Richard may want some little supplies for the voyage; and therefore, if these proportions should not be regulated and paid before you sail, and you find it necessary, you may draw on me as far as 24,000 livres to advance to them, for which they are to be accountable; but do not exceed that sum. I do this to prevent, as far as in me lies, the bad effect of any uneasiness among them; for I suppose that regularly all payments to seamen should be made at home." He added his wishes that Jones should join, if possible, the convoy which was to sail at the beginning of the next month, and sail with it until off the coast, but left it to his discretion and judgment.

On the 1st of April he forwarded to him an order for the delivery of the arms above mentioned and 100,000 pounds of gunpowder; and informed him that M. le Ray de Chaumont had directed his correspondent at L'Orient to advance 100,000 livres, for the Americans of the Alliance and Bonhomme Richard, on account.

In relation to the distribution of the prize money, Franklin, the best authority, said in answer to the questions of the admiralty board, that no agreement had been made by him, or on his behalf, with the armers of the ships acting in concert with the

Alliance. That he supposed the division would be according to the laws of France or America, as might be found most equitable; but that the captains had entered into an agreement, called the concordat, to divide according to the rules of America, under whose commissions and colors they acted.

Franklin, in the answer before referred to, gives a true and brief account of a long story, as follows. He says that the officers and men of the Alliance "were encouraged by some meddling passengers to persist. The king would have taken the prizes, and paid for them, at the rate per gun, etc., as he pays for warlike vessels taken by his ships, but they raised a clamor at this, it being put into their heads that it was a project for cheating them, and they demanded a sale by auction. The minister, who usually gives more, when ships are taken for the king, than they will produce by auction, readily consented to this, when I asked it of him; but then this method required time to have them inventoried, advertised in different ports, to create a fuller concurrence of buyers, etc.; Captain Jones came up to Paris to hasten the proceedings. In his absence Captain Landais, by the advice of Mr. Lee and Commodore Gillon, took possession of the ship, and kept her long in writing up to Paris waiting answers," etc.

The 100,000 livres were not forthcoming as expected by Jones. On the 4th of April Jones wrote to Franklin: "I fear that you will now find that M. Chaumont has imposed upon you, by promising

what he has had no intention to perform. He has given me no means of advancing money here; and if the people remain much longer dissatisfied, I tremble, and let him tremble too, for the consequence. Besides the affairs mentioned in the written letter, he has made another proposition that an honest man would be ashamed of. I wait for something further by the next post, for I am very loth to expose his conduct, and willing to give him time to repent." Such was the strong language which he used under immediate disappointment and misapprehension. While it requires insertion, it equally requires such explanation as can readily be given. Jones supposed M. Chaumont, the commissary, as he called him, to have money of the government in his hands or at command. The fact was, that he was largely in advance on his own account to the new republic; and that the offer to advance the 100,000 livres was a voluntary one. It has already been mentioned that the correspondence between him and Jones, except as it was official, had ceased.

What was meant by the "shameful" proposition spoken of was left for conjecture. It is certain that neither Franklin nor Lafayette ever found out anything that was disgraceful in the conduct of M. de Chaumont. It also appears that the latter, having all the risk upon his own shoulders, wanted the business vouchers which would at least be evidence of his advances, whether he could ever recover them or not.

According to a memorandum given by Jones to M. de la Sartine on the 20th of May, it appears that M. de Chaumont wished the muster roll of the crew of the Bonhomme Richard to state the men's wages as commencing in June, when many of them had enlisted in February and March. At that time, those rated according to his request had been paid. Objections were made also to the payment of 30,000 livres to the crew of the Alliance, for the time during which they served under Jones on the expedition, which Franklin had not the appropriate funds to meet.

Jones had now determined to go to Paris. In the fragment of a letter without date, ascertained from the contents to have been written in 1792, he says: "Though my crews were almost naked, and I had no money to administer to their wants, yet my constant applications to court for two months produced no relief, no payment whatever, either for salary or prize money. I was on the point of sailing back to America without any appearance of obtaining justice; without the least acknowledgment direct or indirect that the court was satisfied with my services! Under these circumstances, in a moment of despair, I came to court to demand satisfaction."

In the fragment quoted from, written in 1792, which is unquestionably in his own hands, he proceeds to say: "The Minister of the United States accompanied me to M. de Sartine, who gave us a reception as cold as ice, did not say to me a civil

word, nor even ask me if my health had not suffered from my wounds, and the uncommon fatigue I had undergone. The public did me more justice than the minister, and I owe to the king alone the flattering marks of distinction with which I was honored."

Jones became the temporary lion of Paris; and enjoyed what heroes most dearly loved from the principle of their nature, which makes them such—the reality of fame—if the phrase may be used without absurdity.

In Jones' Journal for the king, and other formal narratives by himself, there is of course no methodical account of the successive tokens of distinction which he received, though the references to them in his subsequent letters are frequent. It will be remembered that he was in correspondence with some of the principal actors of the day, those most in the public eyes; and that, however hard it may be to pay money for services justly rendered, it is both easy and agreeable to pay compliments. It was also natural that the people of France, who had heard of his exploits, should greet him as they did at theaters and in public places. The court and the community jointly and severally did him homage, and ladies smiled upon him.

On his public reception, he says himself that "he received at Paris, and other parts of the kingdom, the most flattering applause and public approbation wherever he appeared. Both the great and the learned sought his acquaintance in private life, and honored him with particular marks of friendship.

At court he was always received with a kindness which could only have arisen from a fixed esteem."

Whatever were his honors or his distractions during this month of May, Jones did not neglect improving the favorable terms on which he stood, for the benefit of his adopted country. He applied to and obtained from government to follow his Journal "a loan of the Ariel of twenty guns, to assist the Alliance to transport a large quantity of clothing, character, etc., to America, then ready to be sent for the army under the command of General Washington. He had already embarked on board the Alliance the cannon he had provided for the Bonhomme Richard, but which had arrived at L'Orient too late for that ship, besides a quantity of muskets and powder. And a cartel having arrived with American prisoners from England, had enabled him to leave behind near four hundred seamen on board the Alliance. So that he could have spared a crew for the Ariel without any expense or loss of time. It was his intention to arm the Ariel *en flute*, and to carry a considerable part of the clothing in the Alliance.

"Finding the sails of the prize protracted much beyond his expectations, he endeavored, but without success, to obtain some advance for his officers and crew, to enable them to proceed for America, and, the latter end of May, took leave of their majesties, the court, and his friends at Paris."

The king had ordered that the commodore should be presented with a gold sword, and that he should,

with the permission of Congress, receive the cross of military merit, a decoration conferred previously on those only who had distinguished themselves in the proper service of France.

On the 1st of June Jones received directions from Franklin to carry into effect the resolution of the Admiralty Board, requiring the return of that vessel, with all due expedition ; and on the 4th W. Franklin enclosed him the copy of a letter from M. de Sartine, which stated that the commissary and commandant at L'Orient had orders from the minister to render every assistance in their power to facilitate his departure.

But there was a fatality attending the departures of Jones from port. That "singularly wild" and disagreeable chevalier Landais had been at L'Orient during Jones' absence, and with the help of mischievous prompters and counselors, aided by the discontent which prevailed among the officers on account of not receiving prize money or pay, had resolved to retain the command of the Alliance.

On the 12th of April previous, the officers of the Alliance had addressed Franklin, informing him of their necessitous circumstances, and that they were alarmed at receiving neither wages nor prize money when the ship was so nearly prepared for sea.

In his reply of the 7th of June, he told them that, having nothing to do with the prizes, he had advanced the 24,000 livres before spoken of, for their immediate wants ; and that as to wages, he thought they should be expected at home. He told

them that, in consequence of being frequently informed from L'Orient that the proposed method of valuing the prizes excited discontent, he had procured a consent that they should be sold at public auction; which necessarily required time, unless they were to be sacrificed. He expressed his surprise that, after the complaints he had received from them a year previous against Landais, and the statement of the latter at that time, that they were all joined together against him, he, who had been at Paris merely, as he professed, to vindicate himself and obtain an order for his own property on board of the Alliance, should desire to resume the command, and that they should again wish to sail under him. He said, "I have related exactly to Congress the manner of his leaving the ship, and though I declined any judgment of his maneuvers in the fight, I have given it as my opinion (to Congress), after examining the affair, that it was not at all likely, either that he should have given orders to fire into the Bonhomme Richard, or that his officers would have obeyed such an order had it been given them. Thus I have taken what care I could of your honor in that particular. You will, therefore, excuse me if I am a little concerned for it in another. If it should come to be publicly known that you had the strongest aversion to Captain Landais, who had used you basely, and that it is only since the last year's cruise, and the appointment of Commodore Jones to the command, that you request to be again under your old captain, I fear suspicions

and reflections may be thrown upon you by the world, as if this change of sentiment may have arisen from your observation during the cruise that Captain Jones loved close fighting, that Captain Landais was skilful in keeping out of harm's way, and that you, therefore, thought yourselves safer with the latter. For myself, I believe you to be brave men, and lovers of your country and its glorious cause; and I am persuaded you have only been ill-advised and misled by the artful and malicious representation of some persons I guess at. Take in good part this friendly counsel from an old man who is your friend. Go home peaceably with your ship. Do your duty faithfully and cheerfully. Behave respectfully to your commander, and I am persuaded he will do the same to you. Thus you will not only be happier in your voyage, but recommend yourselves to the future favors of Congress and of your country."

On the same day, he wrote peremptorily to Landais, expressing his astonishment that the latter should be at L'Orient, when he had thought him long before on his voyage to America for trial; to enable him to do which, he had been furnished with a considerable sum of money. Landais had coolly written on the 29th of May that "he had been waiting for Franklin's orders ever since, to retake the command of the Alliance!"

The minister said: "I waive any further dispute with you; but I charge you not to meddle with the command, or create any disturbance on board her,

as you will answer the contrary at your peril." But Landais had got an opinion from Mr. Arthur Lee, who had a taste for "constitutional construction," that he might treat the minister's orders with silent contempt.

The sailors became peremptory in their demands. On the 12th of June we find Franklin writing to Jones: "Saturday morning I received a letter signed by about 115 of the sailors of the Alliance, declaring that they would not raise the anchor, nor depart from L'Orient, till they had six months' wages paid them, and the utmost farthing of the prize money, including the ships sent into Norway, and until their legal captain, P. Landais, was restored to them. This mutiny has undoubtedly been excited by that captain; probably by making them believe that satisfaction has been received for those Norway prizes delivered up to the English. That he is concerned in this mutiny he has been foolish enough to furnish us with proofs; the sailors' letter being not only enclosed under a cover directed to me in his handwriting, but he also, in the same writing, interlined the words, their legal captain, P. Landais, which happens to contain his signature. I immediately went to Versailles to demand the assistance of government, and on showing the letter, by which his guilt plainly appeared, an order was immediately granted, and sent away the same evening, for apprehending and imprisoning him, and orders were promised to be given at the same time to the commissary of the port to afford you

all kind of assistance to facilitate your departure, M. Chaumont being with me, and assisting warmly in obtaining these orders. We thought it best, at the same time, to give directions that those sailors who have signed this letter should not be favored with receiving any part of the money ordered to be advanced, in part of what it is supposed the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough may be sold for, unless such as express their sorrow for having been so misled, and willingness to do their duty. And that they may be known, their title was sent down to M. de Marplanir. But care should be taken that it be returned, as it contains the proofs above mentioned against Landais, who will probably be tried for his life; being considered by the minister as an emigrant without the king's permission, and therefore still a Frenchman, and when in France, still subject to its laws."

Up to this period, whatever might have been done in secret cabal, no open disrespect had been shown to Jones. He states that he had been on board of the Alliance for a considerable part of the time after his return from Versailles, and "had always been well received and duly obeyed." But finding that "his commission and authority had been called in question," he ordered the former as well as Franklin's order to be read on board, on the morning of the 12th of June, for the satisfaction of all present. What amounted to a mutiny occurred in consequence.

On the morning of the 13th of June, he went on

shore to make arrangements with the commandant for despatching the Ariel, and Landais went on board, declaring that he came to take command of the ship, and would support himself by force against any person who should dispute his authority. He had written to Lieutenant Degge, as lieutenant in command on board the frigate Alliance, ordering him to keep the command of the frigate from any one who should seek to take it, contrary to the resolve of Congress, and to his prejudice, until he should receive an answer from his excellency Dr. Franklin, on the reception of which he would take the command. He added: "I expect Dr. Franklin can't deny it to me, unless he has an order to the contrary from Congress." This letter had been dictated by some of the "meddling passengers," and was read to the crew by Lieutenant Degge.

Finding that Landais had taken possession, by the advice of the commandant of the marine and commandant of the road, Jones wrote to Franklin by express, on the afternoon of the day on which what may be called the mutiny occurred. He said: "Several of the brave officers who served with me in the Bonhomme Richard have already been treated with indignity on board; and my first lieutenant, Mr. Dale, this moment tells me that he and some others have been turned ashore. Before I came ashore this forenoon, the crew being assembled, I demanded whether any of them could say a word to my disadvantage. They answered, they could not. There was then every appearance of general

contentment and subordination. I am certain that the people love and would readily obey me."

Mr. Arthur Lee thus wrote to Jones on the 13th:

"SIR,—

"When you showed me yesterday the authorities under which you conceive you had a right to command the Alliance frigate, I told you it was not in my power to give you an opinion upon them without seeing those of Captain Landais; and that I would not give an opinion in this matter, but in writing. Since that I have seen the authorities of Captain Landais, and I now shall state them both, with my opinion upon them; which I hope may be of use in preventing any further contest, which cannot but be disgraceful and injurious to the service, as well as to those who are in the wrong.

"The authorities you showed me consisted of a commission from Congress and a late order from Dr. Franklin to you to take command of the Alliance, and carry her where she is ordered by the admiralty. This order from Dr. Franklin does not recite or allege any power from Congress to take the command from Captain Landais, and put another in his place.

"The authorities Captain Landais laid before me were a commission from Congress, like yours, appointing him captain in the service; a resolve of Congress giving him the command of the Alliance frigate; and a letter of instructions for that purpose from the marine committee.

"From these documents it is clear, beyond a possibility of doubt, that Captain Landais commands that ship under the full, direct, and express order of Congress; and that no such authority appears to dismiss him from the command. In this situation Captain Landais must answer at his peril for the frigate entrusted to him till he receives an order of Congress to deliver her to another. If any such order exists, those who have it do infinite wrong to the service in not producing it, to prevent any disturbance. If there is no such order, the subjects of the United States who attempt to divest Captain Landais of the command he holds from the sovereign power, or to disturb him by violence in the exercise of it, commit a high crime against the laws and sovereignty of the United States and subject themselves to a proportionable punishment.

"This, sir, is my opinion, founded upon a cool and candid consideration of the authorities on both sides; which alone ought to determine our judgment and our actions. You are at liberty to show this letter to whom you please, or to send it to Dr. Franklin. Should it prevail upon you to urge this matter no farther till you know whether there is authority of Congress for what you are doing, I shall think I have rendered no less service to you personally, in preventing you from committing a rash and illegal action, than to the public, the honor of which must be committed by such a contest in a foreign port. When I see such things threatened, my duty to my country and the love of law and order call upon

me to do whatever is in my power to prevent them.

"I have the honor to be, etc."

This valuable opinion of Mr. Lee did not come into Jones' hands until a week after his date. The latter, in his letter to the commandant of the port, called on him for support, as he had not sufficient force to assert his own rights, and did not wish to have a scene with Landais. The letter was probably more for form's sake than otherwise; for an open affray would have been discreditable to the American flag, and injurious to the character of the nation.

Jones went incognito, as he says in his Journal, to Versailles "to explain what had happened," and returned with all possible expedition. On the 16th we find Franklin very briefly and peremptorily writing to Landais and to the officers of the Alliance, commanding obedience to his former and present orders. On the 17th he wrote to Jones, who was then on his way to court, that "having been informed by several gentlemen, of and from L'Orient, that it was there generally understood that the mutiny on board his ship had been advised or promoted by the Honorable Arthur Lee, whom he had ordered Jones to receive as a passenger, he thereby withdrew that order so far as to leave it to Jones' discretion." He added that this need not obstruct Mr. Lee's return to America, as there were several ships going under Jones' convoy, and many of the passengers might prefer changing places. Cotem-

poraneously, for I do not find the dates, fourteen of the officers of the Alliance addressed Franklin, representing that they believed the ship's crew were unanimously in favor of Captain Landais, whose conduct in the engagement off Scarborough had been misrepresented; and that they thought themselves bound to obey him, according to the rules and regulations of the navy.

The wise opinion of Mr. Lee and those deluded men is best exposed by the questions put at the time by Dr. Franklin to Mr. Adams, which involve their own inevitable answers. They were, in brief, whether Landais, accused of capital crimes by his commanding officer, after having relinquished command of the frigate, asked leave to withdraw his effects, solicited and received money from the minister to bear his expenses to America, where he was to be tried, and applied for a passage in a private ship; was entitled at his pleasure to retake command of the frigate, contrary to the express orders of the same minister, where he was instructed to obey; "and to dispossess his successor, the oldest naval officer of the United States in Europe, who had commanded that frigate near eight months, and brought to the port where she then was." The other questions, equally irresistible, related to the propriety of the conduct of Landais, and the policy of suffering him to retain the command.

Landais, however, and his constitutional advisers got off, by a forbearance on the part of Jones, dictated by wise and prudential considerations, at a

moment when indignation might have thrown the reins loose without reproach. Orders from government were sent to L'Orient, to arrest Landais as a French subject, and to stop the Alliance.

Jones' letter written after his return from Versailles best explains the intermediate transactions and the motives of his conduct :

"L'Orient, *June 21st*, 1780.

"Sir,—

"I was detained at Versailles forty hours from the time of my arrival, and was then informed by M. de Genet that an express had been sent from court with the necessary orders to the king's officers at L'Orient, respecting Captain Landais and the Alliance. I found myself here early yesterday morning, fifty-four hours after leaving Versailles. The Alliance had, the evening and night before, been warped and towed from the road of L'Orient to Port Louis ; and no express from court had arrived here. M. de Thevenard, the commandant, however, made every necessary preparation to stop the Alliance, as appears by the enclosed document on the subject. He had even sent orders in the evening, before I was aware, to fire on the Alliance, and sink her to the bottom, if they attempted to approach and pass the barrier that had been made across the entrance of the port. Had I even remained silent an hour longer, the dreadful work would have been done. Your humanity will, I know, justify the part I acted in preventing a scene that would have rendered me

miserable for the rest of my life. The Alliance has this morning been towed and warped through the rocks, and is now at anchor without, between Port Louis and Groix. In this situation I at noon sent our Lieutenant Dale with a letter to Captain Landais, whereof the within is a copy.

"Yesterday morning the within letter was brought me from Mr. Lee, though I had never even hinted that his opinion or advice would be acceptable. He has, however, pulled off the mask, and I am convinced, is not a little disappointed that his operations have produced no bloodshed between the subjects of France and America. Poor man!

"M. de Thevenard, on his part, sent the deputy of M. Sweighauser on board with your letters, under his own cover, to Captain Landais, and to the officers and men of the Alliance. The one was delivered to Captain Landais, the other to Lieutenant Digges. M. de Thevenard also sent on board an officer with the king's order to arrest Captain Landais, who refused to surrender himself. According to them, you cannot displace him, however great his crimes! If the government does not interfere to crush this despicable party, France and America have much to fear from it. I verily believe them to be English at the bottom of their hearts.

"N. B. Mr. Dale has this moment brought me the within impertinent note from Captain Landais."

The letter to Landais, referred to, was a demand

of the seamen who had served on board the Bonhomme Richard, requesting that they might be delivered on board the boats sent by the commandant and commissary of the marine, with the baggage, stores, and barge of Jones. The impertinent reply I do not find.

Landais, among his other "light amusements," had had the solemn impudence to write several letters, demanding payment of the prize money due to the people of the Alliance, and complained on the 16th "that time was lost by the delay."

The former officers of the Bonhomme Richard, at the same time (June 26th), solemnly besought Franklin not to entertain the idea that the Americans at L'Orient approved of the behavior of Landais and his advisers; and stated that, beside the risk of ruining the measures adopted for the transportation of clothing, etc., merchandise to the amount of two millions of livres, which was to have been despatched under convoy, was put in peril by the usurpation of Landais. They paid a most exalted tribute to Jones, in expressing the confidence they would have felt, had he commanded according to the regular instructions of the minister.

The following official letter, which M. de Sartine addressed to Jones, on the 28th of June, needs insertion, because it was official, and was despatched at the right moment, being well calculated to remove whatever feelings of mortification Jones might have been supposed to labor with.

"VERSAILLES, *June* 28th, 1780.

"SIR,—

"The king, sir, has already made known his satisfaction with the zeal and valor, which you have displayed in Europe, in support of the common cause of the United States of America, and his Majesty, and he also has informed you of the distinguished proofs he is disposed to give you thereof. Persuaded that the United States will give their consent that you should receive the cross of the order of military merit, I send you, in the accompanying packet addressed to M. de la Luzerne, the one designed for you. You will be pleased to deliver him this packet, and he will see that the honor is conferred by a knight of the order, agreeably to his Majesty's orders. But at any rate, that you should have a proof of the king's approbation and munificence, his Majesty has ordered a gold sword to be made for you, which will be sent to you forthwith, and he has the greatest confidence in the use you will make of it for his glory and that of the United States.

"I have the honor to be, etc., etc.

"TO M. PAUL JONES,
"Commodore of the U. S. Navy, at L'Orient."

The gold sword has been spoken of before, but probably this was the first time Jones had heard of it; and it would not have quickened his desire to depart. He loved not baubles, but he dearly loved what they meant and passed for in France.

On the 28th Jones tried the effect of another im-

perative letter to Captain Landais, with directing him not to sail or put to sea, before receiving instructions from himself, the "senior and superior officer of the navy of the United States in Europe," and to send eighty of the best riggers, with all the joiners forthwith, from the Alliance, to rig and prepare the Ariel.

Lieutenant M. Livingston undertook to deliver this letter. To this request Landais replied, addressing the commodore simply as "John Paul Jones, Esq., at L'Orient—I send the under-named people on shore, being such as I do not find necessary for the service of the United States of America on board this ship; if you have any authority for taking them, you will do it." The names of twenty-two persons are added, of five of whom Landais remarks, "These are prisoners of yours."

On the 29th Jones wrote to him, "The boat returns for the remainder of the men mentioned in my order of yesterday." The following N. B. is added: "Captain Landais ordered the bearer of this letter to remain in the boat alongside the Alliance, and hold this open, with the writing towards him." Having seen it, he ordered the boat to be gone.

The Alliance then sailed. Jones says in his Journal that, when he begged the barrier of the port might be removed, the commandant called the principal officers together, who signed a paper, "stating the preparations which had been made, and expressing their admiration of the conduct of Captain Jones." All his papers and trunks sent ashore were

found broken open, and the best part of his effects were detained, or destroyed, on board the Alliance. The people who adhered to him in that ship, and refused to weigh anchor, were confined and carried away in irons. He was left without a crew for the Ariel, and was unable to embark the clothing.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ARIEL.

That Commodore Jones was not blind to the charms of the fair sex is proven by his letters, verses, and other tokens of gallantry which need not be given a place here. As an example of his diction the following extract is given from one of his letters to a lady whose name is not given:

"When one is conscious of having been in fault, I believe it is the best way to confess it, and to promise amendment. This being my case with respect to you, madam, I am too honest to attempt to excuse myself, and, therefore, cast myself at your feet and beg your forgiveness, on condition that I behave better hereafter. For shame, Paul Jones! How could you let the fairest lady in the world, after writing you two letters, wait so long for an answer! Are you so much devoted to war, as to neglect wit and beauty? I make myself a thousand such reproaches, and believe I punish myself as severely as you would do, madam, were you present here!"

On July 24th he wrote to Madame Tellison:

"My sole business at court was to obtain the free

sale of the prizes, which I effected. . . . I know that, soon after my arrival in America, Congress will render me impartial justice. I will then have the happiness to furnish you with the account I promised, and the circumstances will be supported by the fullest evidence. I dare promise that it will then appear that I have only been to blame for having returned here from Paris, without having insisted absolutely on the previous payment of my men. Money is essential in war; in love, you will tell me, perhaps the case may be otherwise. I have still in contemplation to return to France soon after I arrive in America, for I have the most ardent desire to give the court, the nation, and my friends farther proofs of my gratitude, by my services in the glorious cause of freedom that France has so nobly espoused in concert with America."

On the 28th he wrote to the Marquise de Lafayette: "I am once more nearly ready for sea. If I can in any respect render you acceptable services, you know I have so much esteem and respect for yourself, and so much affectionate friendship for your husband, that you will, I hope, command me freely. I expect to embrace the marquis about the first of October; and it is not impossible that we may return together to France. Believe me, I am, with great sincerity and regard," etc.

These letters to three ladies are the only ones found written by Paul Jones in the month of July. He was soon, however, busily engaged in writing to

the French ministers, and those who had access to, or influence with, them. Jones laid his projects before them again; and again strenuously and not indecorously applied for employment in what his soul most sighed for, an expedition after his own heart; in which he should have no concordat to control him, no sage peers to neutralize his purposes. He could not expect any such command from Congress, even on the most modest scale. He endeavored to avail himself of his reputation, and the influence it might create for him, in every direction, to obtain such a force as might enable him hopefully to attempt some one of those schemes, with which his ardent ambition was teeming; which, if it did not "strike a blow that should resound through the universe," would sensibly affect the nerves of the imaginary ocean queen; and teach her that, if she had rebels, pirates, and privateers to deal with, they were of no common sort.

When Jones had the Ariel nearly ready for sea, he wrote, under date of August 2d, to the Count of Vergennes, of which the following is a portion:

"It is absolutely necessary, my lord, to destroy the foreign commerce of the English, especially their trade to the Baltic, from whence they draw all the supplies for their marine. It is equally necessary to alarm their coasts, not only in the colonies abroad, but even in their islands at home. These things would distress and distract the enemy much more than many battles between fleets of equal

force. England has carried on the war against America in a far more barbarous form than she durst have adopted against any power of Europe. America has a right to retaliate; and by our having the same language and customs with the enemy, we are in a situation to surprise their coast and take such advantage of their unguarded situation, under the flag of America, as can never be done under the flag of France. This is not theory, for I have proved it by my experience; and if I have opportunity I will yet prove it more fully.

"I shall be happy, my lord, to be honored with your excellency's determination as soon as possible, as I purpose to proceed with the utmost expedition to Philadelphia, and as there is no time to lose in preparing for the operations of the next campaign."

Whether the project submitted by Jones was quixotic or rational, the French government could not have complied with his demands, such as they are intimated to have been by the reply of the Comte de Maurepas, from which the following extract is taken: "I have examined and communicated to M. de Sartine the project annexed to your letter, and we have no manner of doubt of the good effect that would result, were it entrusted to you. But at present it could not be said what number of frigates might be employed, they being all actually armed on account of the king, and the plan of the approaching campaign is not yet sufficiently determined, positively to say how many frigates may be

given to you. But this need not prevent, if you have the consent of Congress, the execution of the first part of your scheme, to come here, as you propose, with the Alliance and the other vessels which you may have, and with a sufficient American crew to arm the frigates which may join you. I will endeavor here to secure some for you, or to substitute privateers in their place. This is all I can inform you of for the present."

Three days before the date of the letter last referred to, Franklin had written to Jones, sending him his despatches by the Count de Vauban, and requesting him to sink them, if necessary. The following passage in his letter deserves notice, because it would appear that Jones had shown a morbid degree of sensibility, after the high ground he had taken and well maintained, to the misconceptions of individuals. "Depend upon it," said the minister, "I never wrote to Mr. Gillon that the Bonhomme Richard was a privateer. I could not write so; because I never had such a thought. I will, next post, send you a copy of my letter to him; by which you will perceive that he has only forced that construction from a vague expression," etc. The vague expression was the mercantile phrase "the concerned."

The Ariel lay at the road of Groix when, on the 13th of September, a month after the date of the last letter that has been quoted, when we find an epistle from Jones, dated from on board, to Madame la Presidente L'Ormoy: "My particular thanks are

due to you, madam, for the personal proofs I have received of your esteem and friendship, and for the happiness you procured me in the society of the charming countess and other ladies and gentlemen of your circle. But I have a favor to ask of you, madam, which I hope you will grant me. You tell me in your letter that the inkstand I had the honor to present you as a small token of my esteem shall be reserved for the purpose of writing what concerns me. Now I wish you to see my idea in a more expanded light, and would have you make use of that inkstand to instruct mankind and support the dignity and rights of human nature."

Of Commodore Jones' correspondence with the Parisian ladies little need be said, since the copies of the letters which he carefully preserved serve only to show his industry with the pen.

His influence at court, real or supposed, was a motive which, in addition to his renown, prompted the fair ones to smile on him. The Countess de Lavendahl painted a miniature of him, and gave him her own. Certain letters were published in the English press at this period, which were ascribed to a young English lady, Miss Edes, residing at Versailles. We find the following extracts from them in the Edinburgh *Life:*

"The famous Paul Jones dines and sups here often; he is a smart man of thirty-six, speaks but little French, appears to be an extraordinary genius, a

poet as well as a hero; a few days ago he wrote some verses extempore, of which I send you a copy. He is greatly admired here, especially by the ladies, who are all wild for love of him, as he for them; but he adores Lady —— (the Countess Lavendahl), who has honored him with every mark of politeness and distinction."

"Verses addressed to the ladies who have done me the honor of their polite attention!"

"Presented by Paul Jones to Mademoiselle G——."

"Insulted freedom bled,—I felt her cause,
And drew my sword to vindicate her laws,
From principle, and not from vain applause.
I've done my best, self-interest far apart,
And self-reproach a stranger to my heart;
My zeal still prompts, ambitious to pursue
The foe, ye fair! of liberty and you:
Grateful for praise, spontaneous and unbought,
A generous people's love not meanly sought;
To merit this, and bend the knee to beauty,
Shall be my earliest and latest duty."

In a subsequent letter, the supposed Miss Edes says: "Since my last, Paul Jones drank tea and supped here. If I am in love with him, for love I may die; I have as many rivals as there are ladies; but the most formidable is still Lady —— (the Countess Lavendahl,) who possesses all his heart. This lady is of high rank and virtue, very sensible, good-natured, and affable. Besides this, she is possessed of youth, beauty, and wit, and every other female accomplishment. He is gone, I suppose, for America. They

correspond, and his letters are replete with elegance, sentiment, and delicacy. She drew his picture (a striking likeness), and wrote some lines under it, which are much admired. . . . The king has given him a magnificent gold sword, which, lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy, he has begged leave to commit to the care of her ladyship—a piece of gallantry which is here highly applauded. If any further account of this singular genius should reach my hands, you shall have it."

On September 22d Jones wrote to M. de la Sartine, stating that he could no longer be silent while the money due to them was withheld from his officers and crew. "Two years, my lord, has that hair-brained man (M. de Chaumont) been employed in marring every idea of mine that was calculated to promote the common cause. . . . If he had not interfered with the police of the squadron, not betrayed the secret of its intended operations, very essential services might have been rendered to the common cause. I verily believe the Baltic fleet could never have entered the ports of England; and I am certain that Leith and Edinburgh would have been laid under a heavy contribution, and the merchant shipping of some of the principal harbors of England burnt to ashes. If the Baltic fleet had not entered the ports of England, Admiral Rodney would not have sailed, and the flag of Spain would now have waved over the ramparts of Gibraltar." M. de Chaumont was the cause, certainly, of some strong negatives and long inferences.

We shall now follow Jones' Journal. He obtained a crew for the Ariel, that was ordered by government to be fully armed and equipped. He embarked such a quantity of arms and powder as, with provision for only nine weeks, filled the ship even between decks. He hoped to make the passage in a favorable season of the year, but was detained by contrary and stormy winds in the road of Groix from the 4th of September till the 8th of October.

He then sailed with a fair wind and pleasant weather; but the next night the Ariel was driven by a violent tempest close to the rocks of the Penmarque, a terrible ledge between L'Orient and Brest. The ship could show no sail, but was almost buried under the water, not having room to run before the wind, and having several feet of water in the hold. Finding the depth of water diminish fast, Captain Jones, in the last extremity, cast anchor; but could not bring the ship's head to the wind. Sometimes the lower yard-arms touched the water.

Captain Jones now had no remedy left, but to cut away the foremast. This had the desired effect; and the ship immediately came head to the wind. The main-mast had got out of the step, and now reeled about like a drunken man. Foreseeing the danger of its breaking off below the gun-deck, or going through the ship's bottom, Captain Jones ordered it to be cut away. But before this could be done, the chain-plates gave way, and the main-mast (breaking off by the gun-deck) carried with it the mizzen-mast;

and the mizzen-mast carried away the quarter-gallery.

In that situation, the Ariel rode in the open ocean, to windward of perhaps the most dangerous ledge of rocks in the world, for two days and near three nights, in a tempest that covered the shore with wrecks and dead bodies, and that drove ships ashore, from their anchors, even in the port of L'Orient. It was perhaps fortunate that the Ariel lost her masts, since no anchors could have held her, so long had the masts stood. By the help of jury-masts, erected after the gale, the Ariel returned to L'Orient.

This terrible gale was felt over nearly all Europe. Jones spoke thus of it in a letter to the Presidente L'Ormoy, dated October 16th: "By the enclosed declaration of my officers, you will see, my dear madam, that I was in a ticklish situation in the moment while you were employed in writing to me on the 9th ultimo. It is impossible to be more sensible than I am of the obligation conferred on me by your attentions and kind remembrances, joined to that of the belle comtesses, your fair daughters, and the amiable ladies and gentlemen of your society. I have returned without laurels, and, what is worse, without having been able to render service to the glorious cause of liberty. I know not why Neptune was in such anger, unless he thought it an affront in me to appear on his ocean with so insignificant a force. It is certain that, till the night of the 8th, I did not fully conceive the awful majesty of tempest

and of shipwreck. I can give you no just idea of the tremendous scene that nature then presented, which surpassed the reach even of poetic fancy and the pencil. I believe no ship was ever before saved from an equal danger off the point of the Penmarque rocks."

The arrival of the Alliance in America, referred to in this letter, had been announced to Franklin by Dr. Cooper of Boston, who wrote to him on the 8th of September as follows:

"The Alliance arrived here some weeks ago, with Dr. Lee, who is still in town. This vessel appears to me to have left France in an unjustifiable manner, though I cannot yet obtain the particular circumstances. Landais did not hold his command through the voyage, which was either relinquished by him or wrested from him. All the passengers, as well as officers and sailors, are highly incensed against him, and Dr. Lee as much as any one. A court of inquiry is now sitting upon this matter, in which the Doctor has given full evidence against the captain, which represents him as insane."

The result of this court of inquiry was, that Landais was dismissed from the service of the United States. Jones not being in America to substantiate them, the more serious charges were not urged against him, and he was consigned to insignificance.

It was found on examination that the arms on board of the Ariel, which were the most valuable

part of her stores, were so much damaged that it was necessary to unship and leave them; and she was so much disabled that, though Jones wrote to Franklin on the 13th of October that the repairs had been commenced with great activity, by the assistance of the commandant of the marine, she was not ready for sea until December.

The new expenses thus incurred tried severely the patience of the prudent Franklin, and he directed the necessary advances to be made with a heavy heart. He was again obliged to expostulate with the commodore. Jones used every effort, through his friends at court, to obtain the Terpsicore, and endeavored to induce Mr. Silas Deane and Dr. Bancroft to assist him in his application to the Marquis de Castries, who was now minister of the marine. But, he says in his Journal, "The noblemen on whose interest he had chiefly depended being absent, the application failed." The Terpsicore was destined to carry despatches to the East Indies.

By a letter addressed to the Board of Admiralty, on the 26th of October, it appears that at this time a difficulty took place on the score of rank between Commodore Jones and the celebrated Captain Truxtun. He says: "I send a letter I received from Mr. Truxtun, the master of the Independence, of Philadelphia, dated the 24th, with my answer. Yesterday and to-day he has had the insolence to hoist a broad pennant, notwithstanding. Is not this bidding defiance to Congress and the continental flag? Congress will judge what punishment is equal

to such a crime, when committed in sight of the flag and forts of an illustrious ally."

Captain Truxtun, according to the Naval Chronicles, was sailing in a private armed ship, and had only the commission of a letter of marque. Whether any further notice was taken of this incident, we are unable to say.

No prize money had as yet been forthcoming. On the 24th of November Jones wrote to M. le Ray de Chaumont as follows: "If you have received the produce of the sale of the prizes, I request you to pay the part thereof belonging to the officers and crews of the Bonhomme Richard and the Alliance into the hands of Messrs. Gourlade and Moylan, their legal agents," etc.

The demand, it will be observed, was made upon a contingency. Jones desired that his own share of the prize money, both as chief of the squadron and captain of the Bonhomme Richard, might be paid to Dr. Franklin and Dr. Bancroft, his lawful attorneys; and reclaimed payment of the wages due to the seamen of the Bonhomme Richard who had been forcibly carried away in the Alliance. These wages, it will be remembered, Franklin thought ought to be paid in America.

Jones wrote to the same purport, to the Marquis de Castries, on the same day. In relation to this matter of the prize money, it has not been heretofore explicitly stated that the few prizes sent into the ports of France, by the expedition before it entered the Texel, had been sold, and the proceeds

remitted a year previously to M. Chaumont, upon his order by Messrs. Gourlade and Moylan. Jones wrote to the minister: "By virtue of the authority I had received from government, my honor was pledged to see these men justly paid. I have already suffered many reflections on their account, and I beseech your excellency to order them immediate payment."

Dr. Franklin had been confined to his bed at this time for some weeks. He wrote to Jones on the 4th of December, telling him, "I shall strongly solicit the payment of the prize money, which I understand is not yet received from the king. I hope soon to see an end of that affair, which has met with so many unaccountable obstructions. I enclose despatches for Congress, which are to be sunk in case of danger. I wish you to make the best of your way to America, and that you may have a prosperous voyage."

By waiting for further despatches which M. Gourlade informed him were to be sent, Jones lost a favorable wind, and did not sail until the 18th of this month. As before, he made his valedictory compliments to Madame la Presidente D'Ormoy. In his letter he says: "I am much flattered by your having mentioned me to so great a man as the king of Prussia—the world will ever treat his opinion with the highest respect."

On the 18th of December he says in his Journal, he "bade adieu to the beloved nation of France; where, though he had met with some difficulties, he

had many reasons to be satisfied, and was charmed with the courteous behavior that so nobly marked the character of that generous-minded people. . . . Having important despatches on board, and being besides much lumbered, he had determined to steer directly for America, and wished rather to avoid than seek after the enemy."

He did, however, meet the enemy, and gained another victory, though the fruits of it were lost by baseness.

"After a variety of rencontres, he in the latitude 26° north, and longitude of Barbadoes, met with a remarkably fast sailing frigate belonging to the enemy's navy. Captain Jones endeavored to avoid speaking with that ship, and as the night approached he hoped to succeed, notwithstanding her superior sailing. He was, however, mistaken; for next morning the ships were at a less distance asunder than they had been the evening before, although during the night the officers of the watch had always informed Captain Jones the sail continued out of sight.

"An action now became unavoidable, and the Ariel was prepared for it. Everything was thrown overboard that interfered with the defense and safety of the ship. Captain Jones took particular care, by the management of sails and helm, to prevent the enemy from discovering the force of the Ariel, and worked her so well as not to discover any warlike appearance or preparation.

"In the afternoon, the Ariel fired now and then a light stern-chaser at the enemy from the quarter-deck, and continued to crowd sail as if very much alarmed. This had the desired effect, and the enemy pursued with the greater eagerness. Captain Jones did not suffer the enemy to come close up till the approach of night, when, having well examined his force, he shortened sail to meet his approach.

"When the two ships came within hail of each other they both hoisted English colors. The person whose duty it was to hoist the pennant on board the Ariel had not taken care to make the other end of the halliards fast, to haul it down again to change the colors. This prevented Jones from an advantageous maneuver he had intended, and obliged him to let the enemy range up along the lee-side of the Ariel, where he saw a battery lighted for action.

"A conversation now took place between the two ships, which lasted near an hour; by which Captain Jones learned the situation of the enemy's affairs in America. The captain of the enemy's ship said his name was John Pindar. His ship had been constructed by the famous Mr. Peck of Boston, built at Newburyport, owned by Mr. Tracey of that place, commanded by Captain Hopkins, the son of the late Commodore Hopkins, and had been fitted out at New York, and named the Triumph, by Admiral Rodney.

"Captain Jones told him he must put out his boat, and come on board and show his commission, to prove whether or not he really did belong to the

British navy. To this he made some excuses, because Captain Jones had not told him who he was; and his boat, he said, was very leaky: Captain Jones told him to consider the danger of refusing.

"Captain Pindar said he would answer for twenty guns, and that himself and every one of his people had shown themselves Englishmen. Captain Jones said he would allow him five minutes only to make his reflection. That time being elapsed, Captain Jones backed a little in the weather-quarter of the enemy, ran close under her stern, hoisted American colors, and being within short pistol shot on the lee-beam of the enemy, began to engage.

"It was past seven o'clock, and as no equal force ever exceeded the vigorous and regular fire of the Ariel's battery and tops, the action while it lasted made a glorious appearance. The enemy made a feeble resistance for about ten minutes. He then struck his colors.

"The enemy then begged for quarter, and said half his men were killed. The Ariel's fire ceased, and the crew, as usual after a victory, gave cries of joy. To 'show themselves Englishmen,' the enemy filled their sails and got on the Ariel's weatherbow before the cries of joy had ended on board the Ariel.

"Captain Jones, suspecting the base design of the enemy, immediately set every sail he could to prevent her escape; but the enemy had so much advantage in sailing that the Ariel could not keep up, and they soon got out of gun-shot.

"The English captain may properly be called a

knave, because, after he surrendered his ship, begged for and obtained quarter, he basely ran away, contrary to the laws of naval war and the practise of civilized nations.

"A conspiracy was discovered among the English part of the Ariel's crew immediately after sailing from France. During the voyage every officer, and even the passengers, had been constantly armed, and kept a regular watch, besides a constant guard with fixed bayonets. After the action with the Triumph the plot was so far discovered that Captain Jones confined twenty of the ringleaders in irons till his arrival. Captain Jones arrived at Philadelphia on the 18th of February, 1781, having been absent from America three years, three months, and eighteen days."

CHAPTER XIII.

SEEKING DUTY.

The year 1781 was to Jones a period of reward for past services and disappointments, of grateful and honorable repose after long and harassing perplexities, and of well-founded expectation of a distinguished command in future.

Jones landed at Philadelphia on the 18th of February. On the following day a motion was offered that he should appear in Congress to give all the information in his power relative to the detention of the clothing and arms in France, intended for Washington's army, and that the doors should be open during the examination. After debate, on motion of Mr. Adams, the consideration of this proposition was postponed. A regular inquiry into many particulars of Jones' cruises, from November, 1777, when he left Portsmouth in the Ranger, was necessary, and in course; and, on the 20th, forty-seven questions were drawn up by the Board of Admiralty, which he was required to answer as soon as possible. Two of the questions were afterwards extended, to enable his formal answers to meet every point of interrogatory, which he did with singular promptness; but before such formal

reply was, or could have been, rendered, the letter of M. de la Sartine had been referred to a committee, upon whose report the following resolutions were adopted on the 27th:

"Resolved, That the Congress entertains a high sense of the distinguished bravery and military conduct of John Paul Jones, Esq., captain in the navy of the United States, and particularly in his victory over the British frigate Serapis, on the coast of England, which was attended with circumstances so brilliant as to excite general applause and admiration.

"That the Minister Plenipotentiary of these United States at the Court of Versailles communicate to his most Christian Majesty the high satisfaction Congress has received from the conduct and gallant behavior of Captain John Paul Jones, which have merited the attention and approbation of his most Christian Majesty, and that his Majesty's offer of adorning Captain Jones with a cross of military merit is highly acceptable to Congress."

On the 28th of March the Board of Admiralty made a report, purporting to be in pursuance of two resolutions of Congress, passed in the previous year, inquiring into the causes of the delay in the arrival of the stores and clothing. They stated that the procrastinated investigation had been resumed on the arrival of Jones, and that on propounding their questions to him, with a view to a full explanation, they had desired him "to subjoin to his answers all

such matters as he might think would throw light on their inquiry." The questions and answers accompanied the report, with the voluminous correspondence of Jones, referred to in the margin of the answers, where immediately connected with them, the rest being arranged in four bundles.

The board were "fully satisfied" that the delay "had not been owing in any measure to a want of the closest attention to that business, either in the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States or to Captain Jones, who had, on the contrary, made every application and used every effort to accomplish that purpose; but that it was owing to Captain Landais' taking the command of the Alliance, contrary to the express orders of Dr. Franklin, and proceeding with her to America."

It then set forth the sentence of the court-martial held on Landais, and that, after he had been dismissed from the service, a further prosecution was deemed improper; that Jones had vainly endeavored to procure an additional vessel for the transportation of the clothing; that the court of France had furnished no money to the American minister to enable him to procure clothing; that they had commissioned M. le Ray de Chaumont to do so, and that Mr. J. Williams of Nantes, and Messrs. Gourlade and Moylon acted solely under his orders. They acquitted Jones of negligence in suffering the brig Luke to sail from L'Orient, with a part of this clothing on board, in the latter part of October, without waiting for the convoy of the Ariel, as he had not been

spoken to by Gourlade and Moylan, and had no control over her himself.

They then, after enumerating the actions of Jones, reported that "ever since he first became an officer in the navy of these States, he hath shown an unremitted attention in planning and executing enterprises calculated to promote the essential interests of our glorious cause. That in Europe, although in his expedition through the Irish Channel in the Ranger he did not fully accomplish his purpose, yet he made the enemy feel that it is in the power of a small squadron, under a brave and enterprising commander, to retaliate the conflagrations of our defenseless towns. That returning from Europe, he brought with him the esteem of the greatest and best friends of America; and hath received from the illustrious monarch of France that reward of warlike virtue which his subjects receive by a long series of faithful services or uncommon merit.

"The board are of opinion that the conduct of Paul Jones merits particular attention and some distinguished mark of approbation from the United States in Congress assembled."

The report of the Board of Admiralty, having been referred to a committee, on the coming in of their report Congress passed the following resolutions on the 14th of April:

"Resolved, That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be given to Captain John

Paul Jones, for the zeal, prudence and intrepidity with which he has supported the honor of the American flag; for his bold and successful enterprises to redeem from captivity the citizens of the States who had fallen under the power of the enemy; and in general for the good conduct and eminent services by which he has added luster to his character, and to the American arms:

"That the thanks of the United States of America in Congress assembled, be also given to the officers and men who have faithfully served under him from time to time, for their steady affection to the cause of their country, and the bravery and perseverance they have manifested therein."

The next in order of these truly glorious testimonials, is a letter from the father of his country:

"HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
May 15*th*, 1781.

"SIR,—

"My partial acquaintance with either our naval or commercial affairs makes it altogether impossible for me to account for the unfortunate delay of those articles of military stores and clothing which have been so long provided in France.

"Had I had any particular reasons to have suspected you of being accessory to that delay, which I assure you has not been the case, my suspicions would have been removed by the very full and satisfactory answers which you have, to the best of my

knowledge, made to the questions proposed to you by the Board of Admiralty, and upon which that board has in its report to Congress, testified the high sense which they entertain of your merits and services.

"Whether our naval affairs have in general been well-or ill-conducted would be presumptuous in me to determine. Instances of bravery and good conduct in several of our officers have not, however, been wanting. Delicacy forbids me to mention that particular one which has attracted the admiration of all the world, and which has influenced the most illustrious monarch to confer a mark of favor which can only be obtained by a long and honorable service, or by the performance of some brilliant action.

"That you may long enjoy the reputation you have so justly acquired is the sincere wish of,

"Sir, Your most obedient servant,

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

With such expressions of official and public approbation in his favor, Jones says in his Journal, that he addressed Congress on the 28th of May, but "modestly rested his pretensions to rank only on the commission he held as the eldest of the first grades of lieutenants in the navy, under the United Colonies; because by all rule and example of military promotion, that commission entitled him to rank before all persons who did not enter into the sea service of the continent as early as himself,

unless preference had been given to other gentlemen on account of their known superior abilities, which had not been the case. Congress referred the application to the Honorable Messrs. Varnum, Mathews, and Clymer.

"Mr. Varnum, the chairman, informed Captain Jones that the committee agreed in opinion, and would report to Congress, that he had been very unfairly treated in the arrangement of naval rank, adopted October 10th, 1776; and that the conduct and services of Captain Jones had merited that he should be promoted to the rank of rear-admiral. But before Congress had time to act upon the report of their committee, opposition was made to the application of Captain Jones, by one or two captains whose names had been placed before his on their first introduction to the sea service of the continent. Upon this Congress recommitted the report. But this did not, however, lessen the pretensions of Captain Jones, either in the opinion of the committee or of Congress."

This remark is verified by the acts of that body. On the 16th of June, the following report was made from the admiralty office:

"The board, to whom was referred the letters and other papers relative to the conduct of John Paul Jones, Esq., beg leave to report that they have carefully perused said letters and papers, wherein they find favorable mention is made of his abilities

as an officer by the Duke de Vauguyon, M. de Sartine, and Dr. Franklin; and this is also corroborated by that valor and intrepidity with which he engaged his Britannic Majesty's ship, the Serapis, of forty-four cannon, twelve and eighteen-pounders, which after a severe contest for several hours, surrendered to his superior valor thereby acquiring honor to himself and dignity to the American flag.

"The board therefore humbly conceive that an honorable testimony should be given to Captain Paul Jones, commander of the Bonhomme Richard, his officers and crew, for their many singular services in annoying the enemy on the British coasts, and particularly for their spirited behavior in an engagement with his Britannic Majesty's ship-of-war, the Serapis, on the 23d of September, 1779, and obliging her to surrender to the American flag."

On the 23d of June, it was resolved, that Robert Morris, Esq., should be authorized to take measures for speedily launching and equipping for sea the ship America, then on the stocks at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, and that Congress should proceed, three days thereafter, to the appointment of a commander for that vessel.

Accordingly, on the 26th, the following entry is found in the journals: "Congress proceeded to the appointment of a captain, to command the ship America; and, the ballots being taken, John P. Jones, Esq., was unanimously elected." Jones says, that other captains had been put in nomination

against him; and as the new ship was the only one of the line then belonging to this government, the competition for the command was in fact a test of the disposition Congress would make of the delicate question of rank.

It was more agreeable to Captain Jones to be so honorably elected captain of the line, than to have been, as was proposed by the committee, raised at once to the rank of rear-admiral; because Congress had not then the means of giving him a command suitable to that rank.

The Board of Admiralty was dissolved at this time, and Mr. Morris, minister of finance, became also minister of the marine. He directed Jones, before proceeding to take command of the America, to exhibit his accounts to Congress. He had received a small share of prize money from some of his captures, but not a farthing for pay or subsistence up to this period.

His accounts were approved as exhibited; "but," he says, "there was no interest allowed for considerable advances that had been made for nearly five years; nor was there anything allowed for his subsistence, or the various losses he had sustained in the service, as he had, from delicacy, left those items blank in his accounts." He was personally embarrassed at this time, as were many of the gallant men who were putting at stake all present interest and future hopes, in the cause of independence by the poverty of the government.

He was assured that ways and means would be

provided for him to put to sea, within six months from the day of his election, as commander of the America. He conferred with Mr. Morris on the plan he had suggested to the French ministry, of forming a light combined squadron to annoy the enemy; and that gentleman assented to its utility.

The chevalier left Philadelphia, as he expresses himself, "with a pleasing hope of being soon in a situation that would enable him to manifest his gratitude for the honors he had received, by rendering essential services to the common cause of America and France."

On his way to Portsmouth he paid a visit to General Washington and Count Rochambeau, at White Plains, where the combined armies were encamped. He wore his cross as Chevalier of the Order of Merit, on this occasion; but he says, as it was hinted to him that he might offend the people of the Eastern States by continuing to exhibit that article, he laid it aside as soon as he had left headquarters.

He thus proceeds with his commentaries: "On his arrival at Portsmouth, which was at the end of August, he found his prospects greatly circumscribed, and involved in many difficulties, that neither his friends nor himself had foreseen at Philadelphia. The America, instead of being ready to be launched, was not half built; and there was neither timber, iron, nor any other material prepared for finishing her. Money would not have procured the necessary articles of equipment and men before winter.

But money was wanting; for the navy board at

Boston had otherwise applied the funds, which the minister of finance had destined for the America; and he had so many demands to meet, on account of the troops then detached from White Plains on the secret expedition against Lord Cornwallis in Virginia, that he found it impossible to make the necessary advances. The business was, however, begun immediately and some progress made in the construction before the winter.

The capitulation of Cornwallis in the middle of October, and the events preceding and consequent upon it, formed the subjects of a letter from Jones to Lafayette, as we learn from the following reply, dated December 22d :

"I have been honored with your polite favor, my dear Paul Jones, but before it reached me I was already on board the Alliance, and every minute expecting to put to sea. It would have afforded me great satisfaction to pay my respects to the inhabitants of Portsmouth, and the State in which you are for the present. As to the pleasure to take you by the hand, my dear Paul Jones, you know my affectionate sentiments, and my very great regard for you, so that I need not add anything on that subject.

"Accept of my best thanks for the kind expression in your letter. His Lordship's (Lord Cornwallis) downfall is a great event, and the greater, as it was equally and amicably shared by the two allied nations. Your coming to the army I had the honor to command would have been considered as a very

flattering compliment to one who loves you and knows your worth. I am impatient to hear that you are ready to sail; and I am of opinion that we ought to unite under you every continental ship we can muster, with such a body of well-appointed marines as might cut a good figure ashore, and then give you plenty of provisions and *carte blanche.*

"I am sorry I cannot see you; I also had many things to tell you. Write me by good opportunities, but not often in ciphers, unless the matter is very important."

Jones says that the task of inspecting the construction of the America was "the most lingering and disagreeable service he was charged with during the period of the revolution. . . . But from the beginning, and almost to the end, of the business, he had a prospect of carrying into effect by perseverance the plan he had suggested for forming a light combined squadron. When the news of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis reached Portsmouth, a public rejoicing took place; and as Captain Jones found it would not offend the people, he, on that glad occasion, resumed the decoration of military merit, and continued to wear it afterwards.

"As soon as the enemy had advice that there was a prospect of finishing the America, various schemes were suggested for destroying that ship. Intelligence of this was sent to Portsmouth, in cipher, by the minister of marine. Captain Jones made application to the government of New Hampshire

for a guard to protect the vessel; and the assembly passed a resolution to comply with his demand. None was, however, furnished; and as a second alarm was sent to New Hampshire by General Washington, Mr. Hackett, the master builder, and his associates were prevailed on to mount guard, with a party of the carpenters, by night." For some time he paid this guard himself; and took command of it, in his turn, with the master builders. Large whale boats, with muffled oars, came into the river, meanwhile, full of men, "and passed and repassed the America in the night; but dared not land on the little island where she was built."

But this fair frigate was not to be commanded by him who had watched her construction for more than a year, with the hope of "moving the monarch of her peopled deck." At the close of the summer of this year, the Magnifique, a 74-gun ship, belonging to the French squadron under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, was lost by accident in the harbor of Boston. Policy, and perhaps equity, rendered it expedient for Congress to present to France their solitary ship of the line; and a resolution to that effect was passed on the 3d of September.

Jones submitted to his disappointment, for such it must have been, without any ebullitions of vexation or murmurs of discontent. In his Journal, he says that "he was not made acquainted with the minister's project for employing him after the America should be launched. And the Act of

Congress, September 3d, after all the pains he had taken for sixteen months to finish that ship, did not even mention his name; which notice, it is presumed, might not have been inconsistent with the dignity of that Act, nor disagreeable to the monarch who honored him with particular marks of his attention. Captain Jones had had before him no good prospect; and the America was the tenth command of which he had been deprived in the course of the Revolution. Had it been possible for him to foresee the lingering, disagreeable situation that awaited him at Portsmouth, he would have thanked Congress for the honor they did him by unanimously electing him to that command, and asked their permission to join the army of Virginia, under his friend the Marquis de Lafayette, who, by a letter he wrote, showed how glad he would have been of that event, and that his ideas corresponded with the plan Captain Jones had suggested to the court of France, for forming a combined squadron; but which had not been communicated to the marquis.

Jones proceeds in his rough notes to say that "he urged forward the business of launching the America with his utmost energy. The difficulties were great. The ship was built on a very small island, situated in the river opposite the town of Portsmouth, belonging to the agent for supplying the materials. Between the stern and the opposite shore, which was a continual rock, the distance was no more than a hundred fathoms. From a few feet above the stern, a ledge of rocks projected two-thirds of the distance

across the river, making only an angle of twenty degrees with the keel. And, from a small bay on the opposite shore the tide of flood continued to run with rapidity, directly over this ledge, for more than an hour after it was high water by the shore.

"It was necessary to launch exactly at high water, and to give the ship such a motion as would make her pass round the point of the ledge of rocks, without touching the opposite shore; which, it is easy to perceive, was a difficult matter. It was impossible to fix stockades in the river, on account of the current and the rocks. This defect could only be supplied by anchors and cables. A large anchor was fixed in the ground under the bow, from which depended cables of a proper length and ranged in a manner so as to be drawn gently after the ship, when put in motion, and with various slight stoppers at proper distances, to break one after another, so as to diminish her velocity by degrees.

"When everything was prepared, Captain Jones stood on the highest part of the brow, or gangway, that ascended from the ground to the bow of the ship. From that position he could perfectly see the motion of the ship; and determine by a signal the instant when it was proper to let go one or both of the anchors that were hung at the bows, and slip the end of the cable that depended on the anchor, fixed in the ground on the island. The operation succeeded perfectly to his wish, and to the admiration of a large assembly of spectators."

The flags of the two allies were displayed on the

poop at the launch; and Jones, having caused the ship to be safely moored, delivered her on the same day, November 5th, to the Chevalier de Martigne, who had commanded the Magnifique.

Jones wrote to the minister of marine on the 29th of November, "requesting that unless Congress had some service of greater consequence for him, he might be ordered back to Boston to embark as a volunteer in pursuit of military marine knowledge with his excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil, in order to enable him the better to serve his country, when America should increase her navy." On the same day Mr. Morris sent to the president of Congress a copy of that letter with the following remarks: "The present state of affairs does not permit me to employ that valuable officer, and I confess that it is with no small degree of concern that I consider the little probability of rendering his talents useful to that country which he has already so faithfully served, and with so great disinterestedness.

"His present desire to be sent with the Marquis de Vaudreuil to join Count d'Estaing on his projected expedition from Cadiz against Jamaica, etc., consists with all his former conduct; and it will, I dare say, be a very pleasing reflection to Congress that he is about to pursue a knowledge of his profession, so as to become still more useful if ever he should be again called to the command of a squadron or fleet. I should do injustice to my own feelings, as well as to my country, if I did not most

warmly recommend this gentleman to the notice of Congress, whose favor he has certainly merited by the most signal service and sacrifices."

Congress granted the request thus made; and resolved, "that the agent of marine be informed that Congress having a high sense of the merit and services of Captain J. P. Jones, and being disposed to favor his zeal manifested by him to acquire improvement in the line of his profession, do grant the permission which he requests, and that the said agent be instructed to recommend him accordingly to the countenance of his excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil."

Jones immediately repaired to Boston, with letters for the Marquis de Vaudreuil, from Mr. Morris and the Chevalier de Luzerne. He was received on board of the Triomphante, the marquis' own ship, with every mark of attention. That vessel was very much crowded by the army of the Count de Rochambeau, then embarked under the orders of the Baron de Viomenil. Sixty officers were at table every day.

Jones is particular in recording that the Baron and the Marquis de Laval were lodged in the larboard side of the roundhouse; and that the starboard side was assigned to him.

The squadron, consisting of ten sail of the line, sailed on the 24th of December, and gave convoy to several French transports and twenty sail of merchantmen. "It was the intention of the admiral to go off Portsmouth to join his brother the Count de Vaudreuil, who had in that port, under

his orders, the Auguste of 80 guns, and the Pluton of 74. Wind and weather prevented the junction, and the ships-of-war were forced into a disagreeable situation in the Bay of Fundy, besides separating from the convoy. Eventually the squadron steered to the southward, and continued for ten days off the harbor of St. Johns, in Porto Rico, performing various naval evolutions.

"At making the land the admiral had advice that Admiral Hood, with sixteen ships of the line, was cruising off Cape François; and that Admiral Pigot, with a greater force, lay at St. Lucca. So that the enemy imagined the force under the Marquis de Vaudreuil must necessarily fall a prey either to Hood or Pigot. The marquis took sixteen sail of transports with provisions and stores, out of a large convoy then arrived from France at St. Johns, and bore away round the west end of Porto Rico.

"The squadron steered to the southward, by the wind, and made the island of Curaçoa to windward. The rendezvous that had been fixed on between Don Solano, the Spanish admiral, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, at Cape François, after the defeat of the Comte de Grasse, was kept a profound secret, and no person had an idea of the intended port. The squadron beat to windward for many days, along the coast of South America, without either pilots or good charts. All the transports were driven to leeward by the current, and lost sight of the ships-of-war. In the night, the Burgoyne of 74 guns ran on a rock two leagues from the shore,

and was totally lost, with two hundred of her officers and men, among whom was the first lieutenant. On the 18th of February, 1783, the Triomphante got safe into the road of Porto Cabello, where the Auguste and Pluton had arrived a few days before. The remainder of the squadron soon after arrived safe. The transports, not being able to gain Porto Cabello, bore away for St. Domingo. Don Solano had promised to meet the marquis at Porto Cabello in December, but did not keep his word. He was superseded and ordered home from the Havana to Spain. It was also at Porto Cabello that the combined force of France and Spain from Cadiz, under Count d'Estaing, was to join them under Vaudreuil and Solano. As neither of these junctions took place, and no news arrived of the reasons of the detention, it was most disagreeable to be kept in inaction, in a place in itself highly unpleasant." Jones found it especially so.

After much vain expectations and disappointments, several of the officers, and Captain Jones among others, fell sick and were dangerously ill. At last the news of general peace arrived, by a frigate from France and Martinico. The most splendid success, and the most improving experience in war, could not have afforded Captain Jones a pleasure any way to be compared to what he felt on learning that Great Britain had, after so long a struggle, been forced formally to acknowledge the sovereignty, freedom, and independence of the United States of America.

On the 16th of March he wrote to John Ross, Esq., in the United States: "I had, my dear friend, the honor to write you from on board this ship, while sailing out of the harbor of Boston, December 24th. I mentioned to you in that letter my wish respecting the purchase of a confiscated estate, situated between two navigable rivers, a little above Newark, within eight or ten miles of New York, and formerly owned by one Edwards, who has been killed. I was told it contains a large tract of land, which was valued before the Revolution at 8,000 pounds, but would be sold for a fourth part of that sum. As New York will probably be one of our first naval ports, the proximity of that estate made me the more desirous to own it. If, therefore, you should find on inquiry that I have been rightly informed, and if you can turn the merchandise in your hand into money to answer for the purchase, I pray you to act for me as you would for yourself on the occasion. We have as yet no certain news from Europe, etc. If the peace should, as I wish it may, be concluded, I wish to establish myself on a place I can call my own, and to offer my hand to some fair daughter of liberty. If, on the contrary, Count d'Estaing should come out with fifty sail of the line, copper sheathed, and 18,000 troops, I shall have instructions at the greatest military school in the world, and I can have no doubt of finding opportunity of effecting the business we talked over at parting. Mr. Morris, I am assured, will not in that case let slip the occasion; and I am

well persuaded you will also take the necessary steps."

The news of peace arrived, as has been mentioned, and the squadron sailed from Porto Cabello on the 8th of April, the day after the cessation of hostilities.

Jones arrived at Philadelphia on the 18th of May.

The ill-health which he speaks of continued when he arrived at Philadelphia. He suffered from a violent intermitting fever, and spent the summer at Bethlehem, where he had the benefit of the cold bath. The idea of living on a fine farm in New Jersey, near a city whose future growth and commercial prosperity he shrewdly foresaw, with some fair " daughter of liberty " as the matron head of the establishment, was pleasing to him. The vision speedily faded into thin air. He could not realize the amounts to him from various quarters.

Mr. Barclay, the consul-general of France, had obtained no settlement of the prize money remaining due to the officers and crews of the squadron Jones last commanded.

There was no ease to be had without money, and none of the last without yet further struggles.

CHAPTER XIV.

IN EUROPE.

On the application of Jones Congress passed an Act on the 1st of November, appointing him agent for all prizes taken in Europe under his own command. . . .

He lodged bonds with the minister of finance to the amount of $200,000, to transmit to the continental treasury all the money he should recover belonging to the citizens of America who had served under his command in Europe ; to be from thence paid to them individually by the minister. He chose to put the business on that footing to prevent the possibility of any reproach.

He sailed the 10th of November from Philadelphia, in the Washington packet, for France ; and, after a passage of twenty days, landed at Plymouth in England ; the packet having put in there, as the wind was unfavorable for Havre de Grace, the port of her destination. Having the public despatches in his charge, he set out immediately in a post chaise ; and finding Mr. Adams, minister plenipotentiary for Holland, at London, who was persuaded that the packets for Dr. Franklin contained a commission to conclude a treaty of commerce with

England, he proceeded with such haste that he was only five days on the road from Plymouth to Paris. He traveled at his own expense.

The Maréchal de Castries and the Count de Vergennes received him cordially. By the former he was introduced to the king on the 20th of December. On the 17th of December Franklin formally recognized his authority as agent to solicit for payment and satisfaction to the officers and crews, etc., in whose hands soever the prize money might be detained.

He set about this negotiation with his whole soul, and succeeded, after two years, in obtaining a liquidation and payment of the demand. It would be tedious, were it necessary, and were there room for it, to insert the correspondence, which relates to this matter. Jones claimed the proportion of prize money due to the Bonhomme Richard and Alliance, to be divided afterwards by the superintendent of finances in America, agreeably to the rules of her navy. That proportion, he assumed, was to be ascertained by multiplying the number of the crew by the sum of the caliber of the cannon mounted on board of each ship.

In writing to the Maréchal de Castries, M. de Sartine's successor, he repeated minutely the story of his projects and his doings ; and renewed all his complaints against the conduct of M. de Chaumont. The following was, however, his creed on the subject, which is inserted without other comment, than that the captors should have taken legal advice :

"Whether M. le Ray de Chaumont is indebted to the government, or the government is, as he says, indebted to him, is a matter that ought not to regard the captors, but they have a right to claim the protection of government to force M. le Ray de Chaumont to render the money with interest, which he has unjustly detained from them for four years and a half, while many of them are perishing with cold and hunger."

An account was made out, pursuant to the minister's direction, by M. Chandon, on the papers submitted by M. de Chaumont. The concordat had settled that "the division of prizes should be made agreeably to the American laws; but that the proportion of the whole, coming to each vessel in the squadron, should be regulated by the minister of the marine department of France and the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America." It would seem that in this account the French laws were referred to, in adjusting such proportion. The law of Congress gave the captors the whole value of all ships and vessels of war, belonging to the crown of Great Britain, and half the value of merchantmen, etc.

Charges were made in the account for repairs done at the Texel, and the expenses of the detention of the prizes there; and also of four deniers on the livre, on account of the Hospital of Invalids at Paris, from which institution American seamen had received no benefit.

Dr. Franklin had not interfered in relation to the

distribution of this prize money. He acted with his uniform wisdom, as there was no obligation upon him to express his opinions. Jones, who was now, as to this matter, minister plenipotentiary himself, warmly and with no mean skill, as well as fervor, objected to this manner of adjusting the account, and to these deductions. The claim of the four deniers was readily relinquished by the minister. That for expenses in the Texel was made the subject of more argument, which was managed by Jones with much ingenuity, and as much passion.

Franklin wrote to him that if he had been willing to act himself in the matter, he "certainly would not have agreed to charge the American captors with any part of the expense of maintaining the 500 prisoners in Holland till they could be exchanged, when none of them were exchanged for the Americans in England, as was Jones' intention, and as they both had been made to expect."

Enclosing a copy of this letter to the minister, Jones said: "I will not now complain that the prisoners which I took and carried to Holland were not exchanged for the Americans who had been taken in war upon the ocean, and were long confined in English dungeons by civil magistrates, as traitors, pirates, and felons; I will only say, I had such a promise from the minister of marine. It was all the reward I asked for the anxious days and sleepless nights I passed, and the many dangers I encountered, in glad hope of giving them all their liberty, and if I had not been assured that Mr.

Franklin had made an infallible arrangement with the courts of France and England for their immediate redemption, nothing but a superior force should have wrested them out of my hands, till they had been actually exchanged for the unhappy Americans in England."

On the 13th of May the minister informed Jones that on the statement he had laid before his majesty, this item of deduction was also ordered to be relinquished; and that the indisposition of M. Chandon alone had prevented the amount to be allowed from being stated, which he would take the earliest measures for payment. Here was an immediate prospect of a summary attainment of the object of his mission. With characteristic rapidity, Jones replied: "I hope M. Chandon will immediately finish that liquidation; and, considering that nearly five years have already elapsed since the prizes were made, and that my long delay here is very inconvenient to my affairs, I flatter myself that you will take measures for the payment as soon as possible."

On the 23d of October, it appears that a "statement of the liquidation and re-partition of the prizes" was signed by the Maréchal de Castries, in which Jones urged that there was an error in the proportion assigned to the Vengeance. This was probably not rectified.

In June, in the following year, we find Jones jogging the memory of the minister as to his promise of taking prompt measures for payment. It was then intimated that security should be given

for the due application of the fund. Jones referred to his credentials, and to the documents which showed that he had given ample security to the government of the United States, and thus concluded his letter: "As particular reasons render it extremely inconvenient, if not impossible, for me to attend this business any longer, I shall take the liberty to wait on your excellency to-morrow, to be favored with your final determination."

It is to be presumed that this difficulty was removed at once; but now another arose. Jones was desired by the minister to address himself to the *ordonnateur* at L'Orient for payment of the money. He did not like this reference, and anticipated difficulties in his settlement with this functionary. He asked for orders, that the money due the two ships, the Bonhomme Richard and the Alliance, might be paid immediately into his hands *en masse*.

The expected difficulties with the *ordonnateur* occurred. Mr. Jefferson had now succeeded the venerable Franklin as minister plenipotentiary at Versailles. On the 29th of July, in this year (1785), Jones says, in addressing him: "I find that a French merchant, M. Puchilberg, who opposed Dr. Franklin, and did all in his power to promote the revolt that took place in the Alliance, has produced a letter of attorney which he obtained from the officers and men of that frigate when their minds were unsettled, authorizing him to receive their share in the prizes. And notwithstanding the orders of the Maréchal of the 15th, I find there is

a disposition here to pay the money to M. Puchilberg, in preference to me."

The interference of M. Puchilberg was as peculiarly offensive to Jones as it was in his opinion unsafe, because he had given no security to the American government for the due disbursement of the money; had not any "authentic roll of the crew of the Alliance" and could not do justice to the subjects of America. Jones was willing that the proportion due the French marines, who embarked as volunteers, should be deducted from the amount to be paid to him.

Jones was importunate, and, finally, something more than 181,000 livres was paid to him. He demanded no commission; but charged 48,000 livres for his expenses. (See Appendix IV.)

The king remitted the proportion (one-half) of the sale of the merchant prizes to which, by the American laws, the government was entitled. The balance of 112,000 livres was paid over by Jones to Mr. Jefferson.

While he was thus engaged in the negotiations he planned a commercial speculation with the celebrated John Ledyard. The acquaintance between Jones and Ledyard commenced in 1785, as must be inferred from the letters of Jones. The project was spoken of in the London papers in that year. The following is an extract from the London *Chronicle* of August 20th, 1785: "A letter from L'Orient says: Paul Jones has arrived here from Paris to fit out three ships on his own account, of which it is said

he will take the command of an expedition to Kamschatka, to purchase furs and establish a factory. This he is enabled to do by having lately received 400,000 livres for the prizes he took in the war."

The "propositions for a commercial enterprise" are before me in French. The year in which they were drawn up does not appear in the instrument. "A vessel of 250 tons was to be armed and equipped, with forty-five officers and men, who were to be French. She was to sail on the 1st of October for Cape Horn, thence to the Sandwich Islands to take in provisions, and thence continue her route towards the northwest coast, where she would arrive in April. She was to remain there, if business required it, until September or October, and then make sail for Japan, where the peltry was to be exchanged for gold or other commodities, if the market proved better than that of China, which was thought probable. If not, she was to proceed to Macao; where experience had proved that, at the most moderate calculation, the furs would bring ten livres each, the amount of which was to be taken in gold or the merchandise of China; after which she was to return to France by the ordinary route round the Cape of Good Hope, and would arrive after a voyage of about eighteen months.

"As supercargo, a citizen of the United States (Ledyard) was proposed, who had been an officer of Captain Cook in his last voyage round the world, and had come to France expressly to propose this enterprise, and demanded no appointments or other

compensation than a reasonable commission on the profits of the voyage." The propositions proceed to set forth that the novelty of the projected voyage was the only disadvantageous circumstance anticipated in relation to it, while its advantages were easily foreseen; that the risks, compared to the profits, were, at the most modest estimate, but as one in ten, which was far less than attended all voyages either to the East or West Indies; that the expenses of the armament and cargo were very inconsiderable; that the quality, variety, and quantity of the skins on the northwest coast exceeded all known of the kind in any other part of the world; that such precious furs might be bought for a bagatelle, and sold at a market where the venders might fix their own price; that the distance between the places of purchase and sale was so inconsequential that the peltry could not be injured by the transportation; that there was no necessity of delaying in any port before arriving in China, which would save great expenses and other inconveniences; that they would touch at a port where the supercargo could procure provisions at the lowest price, viz., pork, salt, fish, poultry, vegetables, etc., for twelve months or more. Of the commercial knowledge which would be acquired by those who should undertake the expedition, of the opportunity it would afford to make a most precious collection of natural and artificial curiosities, of the honor and pleasure which would result from it, the projector spoke only as accidental circumstances. He added that it would be better if

the enterprise were undertaken by a single house, or two at most, the expense attending the equipment being so unimportant; and that those who should advance the funds need not be interrupted in their business, as the supercargo would take upon himself the charge of making all the necessary arrangements with the greatest despatch. He observed, that there was scarce any branch of commerce which might be so considerably augmented, possessing the great advantage of a certain market in China, and always obtaining advantageous returns from thence.

The speculators might also at all hazards give a credit by bills of exchange or otherwise, to be used in China if necessary, which would give the same advantage to the expedition as an ordinary voyage to the East Indies, which any ship under the American flag might undertake. The supercargo could provide all the charts necessary for the voyage, except those from the Straits of Magellan to the south by Cape Horn; but they could easily be procured. The following estimate was added of the expenses and profits of the expedition:

EXPENSES.		RETURNS.	
Cost of a vessel of 250 tons..	£1,250	A cargo of 3,000 skins bought on the N. W. Coast, worth 10 Louis a-piece in China..	£30,000
Complete equipment.....	1,250		
Provisions for a year	500		
Cargo.....	500		
Wages advanced to the crew.	250		
	3,750		
Profit of the voyage.....	36,250	As a moderate profit on the merchandise bought in China	£10,000
Sterling,	£40,000	Sterling,	£40,000

A most interesting account is given of the life of Ledyard, of his efforts both in America and France to obtain a ship for carrying this project into execution. Ledyard says, that Mr. Morris "took a noble hold, instantly, of the enterprise." It fell through, however, in America as it did in France, where Mr. Jefferson's sagacious mind readily comprehended the importance of discovery and settlement in regions which might eventually fall within the boundaries of the Union.

The fate of the three prizes sent to Bergen, in Norway, has been mentioned. They were valued by M. Dechezaulx, the French consul there, at fifty thousand pounds sterling; five-fold the amount recovered for the prizes sent into France. The power of soliciting payment for this money was given to Jones by the general resolution of Congress, on the 1st of November, 1783, and the authorization of Franklin in virtue thereof, on the 17th of December following. Neither did he ever lose sight of this object, to which he now began to turn his attention particularly. In the letter addressed by Dr. Franklin to Count Bernstorf, prime minister of Denmark, in December, 1779, reclaiming these prizes or their value, the American statesman urged every consideration of policy and equity to induce a repeal of the order giving them up to the English. Bernstorf's reply, written in March following, was a good sample of diplomatic flourish, evasion, and shuffling, vulgarly called in America, "Whipping the devil round the stump." He referred "for further particulars"

to the Baron de Blome, Danish minister at Paris, who of course had nothing but compliments and condolences to offer; and there the matter rested until the independence of the United States was recognized by Denmark.

Jones thought that as the plan of applying through the ambassadors had proved slow and uncertain, and as Congress had in June previous ordered the prize money paid over by him to be distributed by the board of treasury, which made his immediate return to America unnecessary, it would be better for him to proceed in person to Copenhagen, of which Mr. Jefferson approved. Jones asked for and obtained a letter from the Count de Vergennes to the Baron de la Houze, French minister in Denmark, and armed himself with other credentials.

He did not go to Copenhagen, but paid a flying visit to America, the cause of which will appear from the annexed letter to Mr. Jay, minister of foreign affairs, written shortly after his arrival at New York. "I left Paris in the spring, and went as far as Brussels on my way to Copenhagen, when an unforeseen circumstance in my private affairs rendered it indispensable for me to turn about and cross the ocean. My private business here being already finished, I shall in a few days re-embark for Europe, in order to proceed to the court of Denmark. . . .

"I should act inconsistently if I omitted to mention the dreadful situation of our unhappy fellow-citizens in slavery at Algiers. Their almost hopeless

fate is a deep reflection on our national character in Europe. I beg leave to influence the humanity of Congress in their behalf, and to propose that some expedient may be adopted for their redemption. A fund might be raised for that purpose, by a duty of a shilling per month from seamen's wages, throughout the continent, and I am persuaded that no difculty would be made to that requisition."

On the 11th of October, 1787, Congress acted upon the report made by Jones, relative to his collection of the prize money, and on the 16th that body passed the following resolution:

"Resolved unanimously, That a medal of gold be struck, and presented to the Chevalier John Paul Jones, in commemoration of the valor and brilliant services of that officer, in the command of a squadron of American and French ships under the flag and commission of the United States, off the coast of Great Britain in the late war; and that the Honorable Mr. Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of Versailles, have the same executed, with the proper devices."

On the 25th Congress passed resolutions, authorizing and instructing the minister at Versailles to make proper representations to his Danish Majesty on the subject of the claim against him, to settle the demand, and to despatch the Chevalier Paul Jones, or such other agent as he might appoint, with powers to carry on the negotiation, subject to his eventual

approbation. Five per cent. commission was to be allowed for all expenses and demands whatever.

Jones sailed from New York on the 11th of December, landed at Dover on account of unfavorable weather, and after spending a few days in London, where he conferred with Adams on the objects of his mission, he repaired to Paris.

During the interview with Mr. Jefferson in Paris, the latter made a communication to him, which, though he says in his Journal he at first treated as chimerical, must, unanticipated as it probably was, have awakened ambitious hopes and dreams of glory too powerful and vivid not to be entertained and deeply meditated upon. He informed him, that in several conversations he had held with M. Simolin, the Russian ambassador at Versailles, the latter had intimated his opinion that it would be of great importance to the empress, if she could engage the services of the chevalier in the war she was carrying on against the Turks. He was not authorized to make any specific proposition; but the hint was certainly not unattended to by the commodore.

On the 24th of December he submitted to Mr. Jefferson's perusal his documents in relation to the claim on Denmark. He says, in conclusion: "I have explained to the board of treasury the mistake that was made in calling the ships in question 'prizes of the Alliance'; and left them perfectly convinced that the prizes belong to the squadron in general. Now, as his most Christian Majesty was at the whole expense of supporting the squadron I

commanded, including the expense of the Alliance, I submit to you what kind of support would be most proper for this court to afford to my reclamation at the court of Denmark? It is the duty of this government to interest itself in behalf of the French subjects who were embarked under my orders. In doing this, would it be most proper to authorize me to act for them in common with the Americans; or to direct the Baron de la Houze to support my application?"

On the 24th of January following he received his credentials from Mr. Jefferson, according to the tenor of the Act of Congress, and soon after set out for Copenhagen.

A lengthy but not particularly interesting correspondence from Jones on the subject of the claims follows his arrival, which are brought to an end by the government of Denmark refusing to treat with him because he was not invested with full plenipotentiary powers.

Shortly after his arrival in Copenhagan he received the following letter from Baron Krudner:

"My sovereign will learn with pleasure the acquisition which she has made in your great talents. I have her commands for your acceptance of the grade of captain-commandant, with the rank of major-general, in her service, and that you should proceed as soon as your affairs permit; the intention of her imperial majesty being to give you a command in the Black Sea, and under the orders of

Prince Potemkin, from the opening of the campaign. The immortal glory by which you have illustrated your name cannot make you indifferent to the fresh laurels you must gather in the new career which opens to you. I have the honor of being on this occasion the interpreter of those sentiments of esteem with which for a long period your brilliant exploits have inspired her imperial majesty. Under a sovereign so magnanimous, in pursuing glory you need not doubt of the most distinguished rewards, and that every advantage of fortune will await you," etc., etc.

The following was his letter to Mr. Jefferson, announcing the termination of his business at the Danish court. It may be considered as apologetic for the step he was about taking, and must not be omitted:

"If Congress should think I deserve the promotion that was proposed when I was last in America, and should condescend to confer on me the grade of rear-admiral, from the day I took the Serapis (23d of September, 1779), I am persuaded it would be very agreeable to the empress, who now deigns to offer me an equal rank in her service, although I never yet had the honor to draw my sword in her cause, nor to do any other act that could directly merit her imperial benevolence. While I express, in the warm effusion of a grateful heart, the deep sense I feel in my eternal obligation to you, as the author

of the honorable prospect that is now before me, I must rely on your friendship to justify to the United States the important step I now take, conformable to your advice. You know I had no idea of this new fortune when I found that you had put it in train, before my last return to Paris from America. I have not forsaken a country that has had many disinterested and difficult proofs of my steady affection; and I can never renounce the glorious title of a citizen of the United States!

"It is true I have not the express permission of the sovereign to accept the offer of her imperial majesty; yet America is independent, is in perfect peace, has no public employment for my military talents; but why should I excuse a conduct which I should rather hope would meet with general approbation? In the latter part of the year 1782 Congress passed an act for my embarkation in the fleet of his most Christian Majesty; and when, a few months ago, I left America to return to Europe, I was made the bearer of a letter to his most Christian Majesty, requesting me to be permitted to embark in the fleets of evolution. Why did Congress pass those acts? To facilitate my improvement of conducting fleets and military operations. I am, then, conforming myself to the views of Congress; but the roll allotted me is infinitely more high and difficult than Congress intended. Instead of receiving lessons from able masters, in the theory of war, I am called to immediate practise; where I must command in chief, conduct the most difficult opera-

tions, be my own preceptor, and instruct others. Congress will allow me some merit in daring to encounter such multiplied difficulties. The mark I mentioned of the approbation of that honorable body would be extremely flattering to me in the career I am now to pursue, and would stimulate all my ambition to acquire the necessary talents to merit that, and even greater favors, at a future day. I pray you, sir, to explain the circumstances of my situation, and be the interpreter of my sentiments to the United States in Congress. I ask for nothing; and beg leave to be understood only as having hinted, what is natural to conceive, that the mark of approbation I mentioned could not fail to be infinitely serviceable to my views and success in the country where I am going.

"The prince royal sent me a messenger, requesting me to come to his apartment. His royal highness said a great many civil things to me, told me the king thanked me for my attention and civil behavior to the Danish flag while I commanded in the European seas; and that his majesty wished for occasion to testify to me his personal esteem, etc. I was alone with the prince half an hour.

"I am with perfect esteem," etc.

The hint that the empress would be pleased with his receiving the honorary rank of rear-admiral from his own government, was drawn forth in consequence of his now obtaining it in the first instance from Russia, upon which he had calculated, and meant,

indirectly, to insist. In reply to Baron Krudner he said: "I am extremely flattered by the obliging things expressed in the letter your excellency has done me the honor to write me yesterday. The very favorable sentiments with which my zeal for the cause of America, rather than my professional skill, has inspired her imperial majesty, fills me with an irresistible desire to merit the precious opinion with which her majesty deigns to honor me. Though I cannot conceive the reason why any difficulty should be made to my being admitted into the marine of her imperial majesty as rear-admiral, a rank which I have some claim to, and that it should at the same time be proposed to give me the grade of major-general, to which I have no title, it is not my intention to withdraw from the engagement which you have formed in my name, in the letter you addressed your court on the 23d current. You will be convinced by the papers I have the honor to submit to your inspection, that I am not an adventurer in search of fortune. You will discover, I presume, that my talents have been considerable; but that, loving glory, I am perhaps too much attached to honors, though personal interest is an idol to which I have never bowed the knee. The unbounded admiration and profound respect which I have long felt for the glorious character of her imperial majesty forbids the idea that a sovereign so magnanimous should sanction any arrangment that may give pain at the outset to the man she deigns to honor with her notice, and who wishes to devote

himself entirely to her service. A conjoined command is hurtful, and often fatal, in military operations. There is no military man who is so entirely master of his passions as to keep free of jealousy and its consequences on such occasions. Being an entire stranger, I have more to fear from a joint authority than any officer in her majesty's service. But I cannot conceive that her majesty could deem it expedient to divide the command in the Black Sea; and if the direction of the military department there is confided to an officer of sufficient capacity and experience, I can neither desire to interfere with his command, nor promise, with a detachment, which could not fail to excite his jealousy to contribute much to the glory of her majesty's arms."

Jones had particular reasons for disliking the subordinate command which was tendered to him. The Prince of Nassau-Seigen, who was now appointed to command the fleet of the empress in the Black Sea, had, as will be recollected, volunteered to accompany him in the secret expedition against England in 1779, and abandoned his purpose, if it ever really existed, without even the civility of an apology. He took no notice of Jones' letters on the occasion. His subsequent naval services had been attended with no glory. He had been engaged in the attempt made by the French on the Island of Jersey, which failed altogether, and in the equally unsuccessful attack of Gibraltar by the French and Spanish forces Jones had a poor opinion of his knowledge as a naval commander, or indeed of his courage. Such was the

rival, however, with whom he was now to be associated.

At the court of Denmark, which he was now leaving, he had unquestionably been received with great distinction. What seems a little extraordinary, this court, shortly after Jones' departure, sent him a patent, granting him 1,500 Danish crowns annually, "for the respect he had shown to the Danish flag, while he had commanded in the north seas." It was undoubtedly offered with the double purpose of pleasing the empress and propitiating the American government. Jones did not understand the propriety of this gift at the time, and makes no mention of it in his correspondence with his American friends at that period. Three years after he found it convenient to avail himself of it; but he then found that, like the promises in relation to the prize money, it was but an unmeaning compliment.

His journey to the capital of Russia was an extraordinary one. We give his own account of it in his Journal. He says to Lafayette: "The empress received me with a distinction the most flattering that perhaps any stranger can boast of. On entering into the Russian service, her majesty conferred on me immediately the grade of rear-admiral. I was detained against my will a fortnight, and continually feasted at court, and in the first society. This was a cruel grief to the English, and I own that their vexation, which I believe was general in and about St. Petersburg, gave me no pain. You would be charmed with Prince Potemkin. He is a

most amiable man, and none can be more noble minded. For the empress, fame has never yet done her justice. I am sure that no stranger who has not known that illustrious character ever conceived how much her majesty is made to reign over a great empire, to make people happy, and to attach grateful and susceptible minds. Is not the present a happy moment for France to declare for Russia?"

Jones received before his departure from St. Petersburg the following letter and enclosure from the empress:

From the Empress Catharine to Rear-Admiral John Paul Jones.

"SIR,—

"A courier from Paris has just brought from my envoy in France, M. de Simolin, the enclosed letter to Count Besborodko. As I believe that this letter may help to confirm to you what I have already told you verbally, I have sent it, and beg you to return it, as I have not even made a copy be taken, so anxious am I that you should see it. I hope that it will efface all doubts from your mind, and prove to you that you are to be connected only with those who are most favorably disposed towards you. I have no doubt but that on your side you will fully justify the opinion we have formed of you, and apply yourself with zeal to support the reputation and the name you have acquired for valor and skill on the element in which you are to serve.

"Adieu, I wish you happiness and health,

"CATHARINE."

War had been impending between Russia and the Porte since the disturbances in the Crimea, in 1777, occasioned by the election of a Khan, in which the former interfered to support one of the candidates, with the ultimate view of dispossessing him entirely. The empress, encouraged by her eccentric and overbearing favorite and general, Potemkin, in the ambitious desire of being crowned at Constantinople, never lost sight of this intention. The foundations of the city of Cherson were only laid in 1783, and in a very short time it counted 40,000 inhabitants, and ships-of-war were launched from its yards. This advantage increased the cupidity of the Autocrat, and the invasion of the Crimea was determined upon as a necessary preliminary to operations against Turkey. A pretext was soon found in the dissensions between the Tartar princes, and the usurpation took place effectually, though the Khan was left for a short time with nominal authority. At the same time Potemkin and Suvorrof subdued and received the homage of the tribes of the Kuban, and the extensive wilds more remote. A manifesto was published to justify these unprovoked acts and the annexation of those districts to the empire. The Porte replied in an able answer, but did not yet appeal to arms; which was what the empress wished for. England urged the divan to the measure, but the influence of France and Austria, and oriental indolence, prevailed against the advice. By a new treaty the sovereignty of Russia over the Crimea, and great part of Kuban, with the right

of dominion of the Euxine, and to the passage of the Dardanelles, was conceded to Russia. New usurpations followed immediately on the part of the latter. In 1786 Catharine projected a magnificent progress to the Euxine, where, after having solemnly taken the scepter of the Khan, it was her intention to conduct her young grandson, Constantine, to the gates of the city, with reference to whose contemplated destiny he had been named. His sickness prevented this part of the project from being executed; and the progress, though splendid, was not conducted on so grand a scale as had been at first proposed. She was attended by the existing favorite Momonoff, the Grand Ecuyer Narichkin, others of the Russian nobility and courtiers, the ambassadors of France and Austria, and the English envoy. She was joined at Keiff by Prince Potemkin, and the Prince Nassau-Siegen, who seems to have won favor for himself on the occasion. In the beginning of the spring she embarked with a numerous and brilliant retinue, the king of Poland being in company, and the emperor of Austria joining her on the route. The divan were uneasy at this visitation; and while the empress was at Cherson, four of their ships of the line anchored at the mouth of the Dnieper, though not with actual hostile intentions. The empress returned, and Potemkin, who longed for the grand ribbon of the Order of St. George, had not yet effected his object of forcing the Turks to act first on the offensive. No means were left untried. The consul in Mol-

davia stirred up insurrections; the Russian ships abused their privileges conceded by the Porte; a correspondence was formed with Egypt, and intrigues were carried on with the Greeks of Smyrna. The troubles in Georgia were fomented by the protection given to Prince Heraclius. These and various other grievances led to the presentation, on the 26th of July, 1787, of a memorial from the grand vizier, and *reis effendi*, to the French minister; to which an immediate answer was requested. The ambassador asked for time to consult his court, which was granted. But the influence of Great Britain now predominated, and war was declared before any answer was received from Russia. Eighty thousand men were ordered to march to cover Oczakow. A large army advanced to the Danube; and a squadron of sixteen ships of the line, eight frigates, and several galleys entered the Euxine under the command of the capitan-pacha. The Greeks were disarmed, and the Tartars invited to return to their allegiance to the grand seignior. They complied with the call, and their Shah had soon under his orders an army of 40,000 men.

This news was received with joy at St. Petersburg. A fleet of eight ships of the line, twelve frigates and near two hundred chebeks or gunboats was equipped in the Euxine, and two squadrons commanded by Admirals Kruse and Greig were in readiness at Cronstadt to sail for the Mediterranean. Joseph II., the ally of the empress, sent 80,000 Austrians on their march to Moldavia, and the em-

press published manifestos to assert the justice of her cause. Hostile operations on the part of Sweden, which it is unnecessary here to dwell upon, gave a check to the exultation at St. Petersburg, which was left defenseless; and the appearance of the Swedish fleet off Cronstadt occasioned a recall of the sailing orders given to the Russian admirals there.

CHAPTER XV.

CAMPAIGN OF THE LIMAN.

(From Jones' Journal.)

"The United States of America having charged me with a mission of a political nature to the court of Denmark, and having at the same time furnished me with a letter to deliver personally to his most Christian Majesty, Louis XVI., I embarked at New York on the 11th of November, 1787, in an American vessel bound for Holland, the captain of which agreed to land me in France.

"After a voyage of a month, I landed at Dover, in England, not being able to get ashore in France. From Dover I went to London, where I saw the minister of the United States. I passed some days with my friends there, and went to Covent Garden Theater. I afterwards set out for Paris, where I arrived on the 20th of December.

"Mr. Jefferson, the ambassador of the United States, visited me on the night of my arrival, and informed me that M. de Simolin, minister plenipotentiary of her imperial majesty of all the Russias, had often spoke of me while I was in America, and appeared anxious to succeed in prevailing on me to go to Russia, to command the fleet against the Turks

in the Black Sea. I regarded this proposal as a castle in the air; and, as I did not wish for any employment in foreign service, I avoided meeting M. de Simolin, for whose character I had, at the same time, the highest respect.

"As the letter, of which I was the bearer to the king of France, concerned myself alone, my friends advised me not to seek an interview with his majesty before my return from Denmark. In that letter the United States requested his majesty to permit me to embark in his fleet of evolutions, to complete my knowledge of naval tactics, and of military and maritime operations upon a great scale.

"Speaking to a man of very high rank at Paris, I repeated to him what had been communicated to me by Mr. Jefferson. He replied that 'he would advise me to go to Constantinople at once rather than enter the service of Russia.'

"On the 1st of February, 1788, at the moment of my departure from Paris, I received a note from Mr. Littlepage, chamberlain to the king of Poland, earnestly requesting me to breakfast with him next morning, as he had matters of the utmost importance to communicate to me. I went to him that same night, and he told me that M. de Simolin had the greatest desire to converse with me before my departure, and that he calculated on breakfasting with us next day.

"M. de Simolin said the most polite and obliging things to me; that, having known me well by reputation whilst he was ambassador in England, and

since he had come to France, he had already proposed me to his sovereign as commander of the fleet in the Black Sea, etc., and that he expected her imperial majesty would make me proposals in consequence. I did not yet look upon the affair as serious; but I was much flattered with the politeness of M. de Simolin, and endeavored to express to him my sense of it. When he had left the house, Mr. Littlepage assured me that he had written to his court, that 'if her imperial majesty confided to me the chief command of her fleet on the Black Sea, with *carte blanche*, he would answer for it that in less than a year I should make Constantinople tremble.'

"In Denmark I put in train a treaty between that power and the United States; but it was interrupted by the arrival of a courier from St. Petersburg, despatched express by the empress, to invite me to repair to her court.

"Though I foresaw many difficulties in the way of my entering the service of Russia, I believed that I could not avoid going to St. Petersburg, to thank the empress for the favorable opinion she had conceived of me. I transferred the treaty going forward at Copenhagen to Paris, to be concluded there, and set out for St. Petersburg by Sweden. At Stockholm I stayed but one night, to see Count Rasoumorsky. Want of time prevented me from appearing at court.

"At Gresholm I was stopped by the ice, which prevented me from crossing the Gulf of Bothnia,

and even from approaching the first of the isles of the passage. After having made several unsuccessful efforts to get to Finland by the Isles, I imagined that it might be practicable to effect my object by doubling the ice to the southward, and entering the Baltic Sea.

"This enterprise was very daring, and had never before been attempted; but by the north the roads were impracticable, and, knowing that the empress expected me from day to day, I could not think of going back by Elsineur.

"I left Gresholm early one morning, in an undecked passage boat, about thirty feet in length. I made another boat follow, of half that size. This last was for dragging over the cakes of ice, and for passing from one to another, to gain the coast of Finland. I durst not make my project known to the boatmen, which would have been the sure means of deterring them from it. After endeavoring, as before, to gain the first isle, I made them steer for the south, and we kept along the coast of Sweden all the day, finding with difficulty room enough to pass between the ice and the shore. Towards night, being almost opposite Stockholm, pistol in hand, I forced the boatmen to enter the Baltic Sea, and steer to the east. We ran towards the coast of Finland. All night the wind was fair, and we hoped to land next day. This we found impossible. The ice did not permit us to approach the shore, which we only saw from a distance. It was impossible to regain the Swedish side, the wind being strong and

directly contrary. I had no other course to adopt but to make for the Gulf of Finland. There was a small compass in the boat, and I fixed the lamp of my traveling carriage so as to throw a light on it.

" On the second night we lost the small boat, which was sunk; but the men saved themselves in the large one, which with difficulty escaped the same fate. At the end of four days we landed at Reval, in Livonia, which was regarded as a kind of miracle. Having satisfied the boatmen for their services and their loss, I gave them a good pilot, with the provisions necessary for making their homeward voyage, when the weather should become more favorable.

" I arrived at St. Petersburg in the evening on the 23d of April, old style, and on the 25th had my first audience of the empress. Her majesty gave me so flattering a reception, and up to the period of my departure treated me with so much distinction, that I was entirely captivated, and put myself into her hands without making any stipulation for my personal advantage. I demanded but one favor, ' that she would never condemn without hearing me.'

" On the 7th of May I set out from the imperial palace of Sarscosello carrying with me a letter from her majesty to his highness the Prince Marshal Potemkin at St. Elizabeth, where I arrived on the 19th. The prince marshal received me with much kindness, and destined me the command of the fleet of Sebastopol, against the capitan-pacha, who, he supposed, intended to make descents in the Crimea.

His highness was mistaken in this, and the next day he received information that the capitan was at anchor within Kinbourn, having come to succor Oczakow with a hundred and twenty armed vessels and other armed craft.

"The prince marshal then requested me to assume command of the naval force stationed in the Liman (which is at the embouchure of the Dneiper), to act against the capitan-pacha till Oczakow should fall. I considered this change as a mark of confidence flattering to myself; and having received my orders, I set out on the same day for Cherson, in company with the Chevalier de Ribas, Brigadier du Jour of the prince marshal. He was ordered to make all the arrangements necessary to place me in command. At parting, the prince marshal promised me 'to bring forward his troops without loss of time, to cooperate with the maritime force he had entrusted to my command;' and on the journey M. de Ribas told me, 'that all the force of the Liman, comprehending that of the Prince of Nassau, would be under my orders.'

"I spent but one evening and night at Cherson. But even this short period was enough to show that I had entered on a critical and disagreeable service. Rear-Admiral Mordwinoff, chief of the admiralty, did not affect to disguise his displeasure at my arrival; and though he had orders from the prince marshal to communicate to me all the details concerning the force in the Liman, and to put me in possession of the silk flag belonging to my rank as

rear-admiral, he gave himself not the least trouble to comply therewith.

"We set out early next morning for Glouboca, the armament of the Liman being at anchor very near that place, in the roads of Schiroque, between the bar of the Dnieper and the embouchure of the river Bog. We went on board the Wolodimer before midday, where we found that Brigadier Alexiano had assembled all the commanders to draw them into a cabal against my authority. I may mention here, that this man was a Greek by birth, as ignorant of seamanship as of military affairs; who, under an exterior and manners the most gross, concealed infinite cunning; and, by an impertinent roughness of discourse, had the address to pass for a blunt, honest man. Though a subject of Turkey, it was alleged that he made war with the Mussulmans by attacking their commerce in the Archipelago on his own authority, and that he had followed this means of enriching himself up to the period that Count D'Orloff arrived with the Russian fleet. Though I do not affirm the fact, several persons of credit have assured me that there are often pirates who infest the coast, and the isles between Constantinople and Egypt, who attack the commerce of all nations, and run down the vessels after having seized the cargoes and cut the throats of the crews. Alexiano had been employed by Count D'Orloff. He had reached the grade of captain *de haut bord*, with the rank of brigadier. He felt his spirits ruffled in the first instance, and afterwards made great merit with the

prince marshal, of the sacrifice which he affected to make in serving under me. He said that, if he withdrew, all the other officers would do the same. The prince marshal sent presents to his wife, and wrote him kindly, persuading him to remain in the service. All the objections he made were bravadoes, to enable himself to make something out of the difficulty; for, from what followed, I know that, had he left the service, it would have been alone, and that no one would have regretted his absence.

"To give time to those angry spirits to become calm, and to be able to decide on the part I should take, I proposed to Brigadier de Ribas, that we should together make a journey to Kinbourn, to see the entrance of Dnieper and reconnoiter the position and strength of the Turkish fleet and flotilla. At my return all the officers appeared contented, and I hoisted my flag on board the Wolodimer on the 26th of May, 1788.

"The Prince of Nassau-Siegen, whom I had known slightly at Paris, told me 'that if we gained any advantage over the Turks, it was necessary to exaggerate it to the utmost; and that this was the counsel the Chevalier de Ribas had given him.' I replied, 'that I never had adopted that method of making myself of consequence.'

"At the opening of this campaign the squadron of Cherson was obliged to remain for two days in the road of Schiroque, till the troops should embark which were to form part of the crew. The Prince of Nassau, who had been appointed commander of

the flotilla, and who had by this time received on board the troops intended for him, durst not venture to advance four or five versts to take station opposite to the Bog, without being escorted by three frigates. The Prince of Nassau made so many objections to the danger of his situation that, on the 28th of May, the day following, Rear-Admiral Chevalier Paul Jones, commander of the squadron, reinforced him with a fourth frigate.

"On the 29th, the troops being all on board, the squadron advanced and got beyond the flotilla, which lay scattered about at anchor without any observance of order. The squadron drew up opposite the first village, to the west of the Bog, in an obscure angle, and thus commanded, by a cross fire, the only passage of the Liman. This lies between two sand banks, through which the Turks must advance with their heavy vessels. By this position the rear-admiral covered Cherson and the country on both banks of the Liman, made good the free passage of the Bog to the army of the prince marshal, and held the Turks in check in any attempt they might make against Kinbourn.

"The Prince of Nassau at this time talked a great deal of projects of descents, surprises and attacks, but without any rational plan.

"A battery having been raised upon the point of Stanislaus, the Prince of Nassau could not help exclaiming, 'that he was delighted with it, as in case of necessity he might there find shelter.' He was not ignorant that the rear-admiral could not have re-

treated as several of his vessels were already within a few inches of getting aground. The rear-admiral was aware that the Turks, having a very superior force, would not give any opportunity of attacking them; and that it was therefore necessary to maintain the strong position he had taken till the arrival of Prince Potemkin, in order to advance in concert and combine their operations with those of the land forces.

"In the meanwhile General Suvorrof, commandant of Kinbourn, made the rear-admiral responsible for the safety of that place; while Brigadier Alexiano and the Prince of Nassau, on their part, did all that was possible to make him distrustful of the means which he possessed for attack or defense. They alleged that the vessels forming the flotilla, having been constructed merely to convey the carriages of the empress in her late progress, might be expected, at the first attack, to sink under the enormous weight of the guns.

"The squadron had a formidable appearance, but little real strength. The Wolodimer and the Alexander were but half armed; and both vessels were already within a few inches of touching the bottom, so shallow is the Liman for vessels of war. In this most critical situation, having no orders from his highness the prince marshal for his guidance, and knowing nothing of his intentions, nor of the actual position of his army, the rear-admiral resolved on assembling a council of war, in conformity to the ordinance of Peter the Great. The council he opened by a speech

suited to the occasion, the main object of which was to show the necessity of a perfect understanding between the squadron and the flotilla; and that, uniting heart and hand, forgetting all personal considerations, they should determine to conquer, as the true glory of a patriot was to be useful to his country.

"He proposed to them nine questions. It was decided to act together, mingle together, in one and the same order of battle; that if the wind should be from a point from N. to S. E. the prince should detach a part of the flotilla at 1 A. M., and should be supported at daybreak by the squadron of the rear-admiral to cut off the retreat of the enemy's small craft, which were near the first village east of Oczakow; and that the best position for the squadron and flotilla in the Liman, to cover Kinbourn and act on the defensive until the approach of the army under Prince Potemkin was four versts further in advance, opposite the first village east of Oczakow, in a straight line, N. N. E., S. S. W. The batteries in the spaces between the ships, and a corps of reserve, composed of a division of the flotilla, to cover the right wing. The council was to have met again next day to decide on the other points which the rear-admiral had to propose; among which was the best manner of attack and defense, and the general arrangement of signals, which ought all, in his opinion, to be made on board of the same vessel; but M. de Nassau and the Brigadier Alexiano opposed them, and the council did not reassemble as proposed.

"On the 6th of June, at 2 in the morning, the Prince of Nassau advanced, as had been previously agreed on, with the greater part of the flotilla; but in place of cutting off the retreat of the vessels forming the enemy's advanced guard, he retired at daybreak before a very inferior force, and without offering the smallest resistance; and the Turks chased him, keeping up a cannonade, into the midst of the squadron which had advanced to take the position assigned to them.

"The precipitate retreat of the Prince of Nassau inspirited the Turks so much that during the night, between the 6th and 7th, they drew up their flotilla in two divisions in a shallow close by their own shore. The first of these divisions had by day-dawn advanced within cannon shot of our reserve, which had been posted the previous night on the right wing.

"At sunrise the Turks made sail; and Brigadier Alexiano ran upon the deck of the Wolodimer half-naked, exclaiming like a frantic man in French and Russian that the Turks were going to attack and board us, and that we would be blown to pieces for having been so foolish as to leave our former position. He had, notwithstanding, in the council of war, given his voice in favor of the position we now actually held. Brigadier Ribas, the captain and all the crew were witnesses of his extravagant behavior.

"This proved a false alarm; the Turkish fleet did not stir.

"The Prince of Nassau came on board the Wolodimer, and the rear-admiral proposed to him to

reconnoiter the enemy's fleet and flotilla. As they advanced together the first division of the Turkish flotilla began to fire from their canoes, and raised their anchors and rode forward towards our reserve, which they attacked briskly. At the same time several corps intended to establish a post or battery to act on our flank. As our reserve had been posted to cover our right wing, the Prince of Nassau, who knew not what to do, proposed to make it draw up in the form of a *crochet de houlette*, the better to sustain the assault. The rear-admiral told him that, on the contrary, it was necessary to lift the anchors with the utmost despatch, and to form in line of battle to meet the attack of the Turks. The combat having commenced according to plan, the rear-admiral hastened along our line to issue orders to the squadron, and above all, to make the remainder of the flotilla, posted between the ships and upon the left wing, advance. The wind being adverse, he made these vessels be towed by the ships' boats and other boats attached to the squadron, and by an oblique movement formed in front line, with the intention of cutting off the retreat of the enemy, and galling him by a cross-fire. As soon as the capitan-pacha perceived the maneuver of the rear-admiral, he came forward himself in his kirlangitch, having a very favorable wind, and made the second division of his flotilla advance. At this time our reserve was very critically situated. A double chaloupe quitted the action, and four of our galleys were in danger of being captured. The Prince of Nassau,

who did not relish going himself, sent Brigadier Corsacoff, who made them retreat. Instead of remaining with the reserve, which, being without a commander, was in very great disorder, the Prince of Nassau quitted his own post and stationed himself before the rear-admiral, where he could be of no use whatever. The rear-admiral went into the same boat with the Prince of Nassau and again issued his orders along the line. Being now within cannon-shot of the enemy, he opened fire, advancing always in an oblique line to cut off his retreat. At the same time he despatched Brigadier Alexiano to endeavor to rally the vessels of the reserve, which the Prince of Nassau had deserted; but Alexiano contented himself with waving his hat in the air and shouting from behind the lines, 'Fire, my boys, on the kirlangitch of the capitan-pacha!'

"When the line led on by the rear-admiral came to close fire with the enemy, their flotilla was thrown into the utmost confusion. Our reserve gave no farther way, and the enemy was placed under a cross-fire. The capitan-pacha availed himself of the only resource he had left; the wind being in his favor, he set every sail to withdraw his force. Had he remained a half hour longer he would have been surrounded. Two of his vessels were burnt in this affair. The flotilla of the enemy was composed of fifty-seven vessels, and we chased them up to their fleet. The rear-admiral, who had directed the whole affair, left all the credit of it to the Prince of Nassau.

"An idea may be formed of the capacity of this prince from the circumstance that, at the beginning of the action, he requested the rear-admiral to bring forward to the support of the reserve only the vessels posted on the left wing, which consisted of one galley and two double chaloupes. Besides the insufficiency of force, these vessels had a very long way to make, and that against the wind.

"The Turks remained quiet for some time after this. The Prince of Nassau, who had scarce spoken one word during the affair, save to make extravagant professions of regard for the rear-admiral, now began to give himself airs. On the 13th of June he addressed a writing of an extraordinary character to the rear-admiral, the object of which appeared to be that an advance should be made of three versts nearer the enemy, who had taken post under the batteries of Oczakow. The rear-admiral, who could perceive no advantage to the service in such a movement, refused his concurrence, the prince marshal having approved his plan of acting on the defensive, or, at least, until the moment when the Turks might afford us an opportunity of attacking them to advantage. Had he agreed, the movement would have been fatal to Russia, as will be seen by what follows.

"By the 16th of June the patience of the capitan-pacha was exhausted. He brought from his grand fleet without Kinbourn two thousand picked men to reinforce the body under the walls of Oczakow; and being strengthened still farther by the troops

of the garrison, he advanced with his whole fleet and flotilla, and with a fair wind, into the Liman to attack and board us. The ship, which bore one of the admiral's flags, steered right towards the Wolodimer from the commencement of the movement. When within two versts of us, or a little more, this ship got aground, and all the vessels which accompanied it immediately dropped anchor. It was then about two in the afternoon.

"The rear-admiral summoned a council of war to consult on what should be done. He addressed the council, at which were present all the commanders of the squadron and the flotilla, and concluded by telling them 'that they must make up their minds to conquer or die for their country.'

"The wind, which was rather fresh, being against us, the only thing proposed by the rear-admiral that was found practicable was to draw up our force in an obtuse angle, by bringing forward, by anchors, the right of the line up to the center. This movement was completed before midnight. The wind had shifted to N.N.E., and at break of day on the 17th the rear-admiral made signal, and the whole squadron immediately set sail to commence the attack on the Turks.

"The Turks got into confusion the instant this maneuver was perceived. They raised their anchors or cut their cables with the greatest precipitation, and not the shadow of order remained in their fleet. Our squadron advanced in line of battle with an imposing and formidable appearance, so that the

Turks knew not how weak it really was. As our flotilla had been very slow in weighing anchor, the rear-admiral was obliged to make the squadron halt twice to wait for it. At length, the flotilla being always last, the squadron opened fire on the enemy, of whom the person second in command who had flown about like a fool, quickly ran his ship on a sand bank on the south of the Liman. There was no longer hope for him; from the moment he grounded he was ours. The enemy still kept flying about, and always in the greatest disorder. The rear-admiral ordered his ship (the Wolodimer) to be steered to within pistol shot of the vessel of the capitan-pacha, but the latter again ran aground upon a sand bank; and a few minutes afterwards the Brigadier Alexiano gave orders in the Russian language, and unknown to the rear-admiral, to drop the Wolodimer's anchor. It was pretended that there were but fifteen feet of water a little way in advance of the ship, which was not true. A considerable time before this the squadron had been taken on the right flank by the Turkish flotilla, drawn up on the shallows near the bank to the east of Oczakow, and commanded by the capitan-pacha himself. The flotilla annoyed the squadron considerably, by incessantly throwing in along our line both bombs and balls of great size. Wanting depth of water, our frigates could not advance far enough to dislodge them, and besides, they found that their guns were too small. The capitan-pacha sunk one of our frigates, named the Little Alexander, by a

bomb, at the side of the Wolodimer, and at the very instant Brigadier Alexiano made the anchor be cast. Our flotilla still lagged behind, but it did at last advance. Having passed through the squadron in the greatest disorder, and without the least appearance of being under command, instead of pursuing the flying Turks, the flotilla swarmed round the Turkish ships which were aground, like a hive of bees.

"The rear-admiral commanded Brigadier Alexiano to get together some vessels of our flotilla to dislodge the Turkish flotilla. At the same moment the rear-admiral advanced in his boat toward the left wing, where the Prince of Nassau was with his body of reserve employed to very little purpose, in surrounding the first Turkish vessel which was aground, leaning on one side, and firing at it. The rear-admiral entreated him to bring or send the reserve to act against the Turkish flotilla upon our right flank, and informed him of the misfortune which had befallen the Little Alexander; but M. de Nassau remained quietly behind his batteries, and made no movement to dislodge the flotilla of the enemy.

"The rear-admiral then met Brigadier Corsacoff, to whom he gave orders similar to those he had given to M. Alexiano; and these two officers having got together as many vessels of the flotilla as they could collect, assisted our frigates in dislodging and chasing the Turkish flotilla even till under the walls of Oczakow. M. de Corsacoff was a brave and an intelligent man; he did not affect to have

done anything wonderful. Alexiano was a man of limited talent and of questionable courage, but his vanity was excessive. He pretended to have towed a battery to within pistol shot of the enemy's flotilla; but M. Akmatoff, who commanded that battery, declared that neither he nor any one of our people ever was nearer the Turkish flotilla than half-cannon shot.

"The Turkish fleet was now distant. The Prince of Nassau was told that the admiral's flag, which had been displayed on the vessel of the capitan-pacha, was struck, and he hastily advanced to claim it. The ship of the capitan-pacha, like the other, was *à la bande*, that is to say, it leaned much to one side, and consequently could not make use of its guns. As the flag of the capitan-pacha fell into the water from the top of the main-mast, having been struck down by a ball, it is not difficult to discover that the vessel which had fired this ball was in no danger of being touched by case shot. The Zaporavians picked up the flag from the water, and the Prince of Nassau, a long while afterwards, had the glory (which he turned to good account) of having snatched it from their hands. The rear-admiral might have claimed at least half of this flag, as he had his hands on it at the same moment with the Prince of Nassau; but he regarded it as a thing of very little consequence.

"Brandcougles had been thrown into the two Turkish vessels which were aground, and they were burnt. Was this a good or a bad piece of service?

These two vessels were ours, from the circumstance of having run aground, and because their crews had been left by their countrymen under the guns of our squadron. Wherefore did the flotilla interfere with them? Ought it not rather to have pursued the flying Turks, who were not yet under the protection of the guns of Oczakow? Our flotilla had received no injury, and had nothing to fear from the shallowness of the water.

"Having first sounded, the rear-admiral made the squadron advance another verst, and took post in a right line, barely out of shot of Oczakow, and in line with the last Turkish ship that had been run aground and taken. Fire soon after broke out in this prize, which had been imprudently fired upon with brandcougles. The fleet and flotilla of the Turks now drew up in a line parallel to ours, and under the walls of Oczakow.

"How imbecile does the human mind become under the influence of sudden panic! The rear-admiral, an hour after the affair, advanced in his boat and took soundings all along the Turkish line, opposite the walls of Oczakow, and within reach of case shot, and not a single gun was fired upon him.

"Previously to taking command of the squadron, the rear-admiral had gone to Kinbourn with the Chevalier Ribas, brigadier *du jour*, to the prince marshal, to reconnoiter the position and force of the fleet and flotilla under the capitan-pacha, and to examine the entrance of the Liman. They arrived at Kinbourn at the very time that the capitan-pacha

had detached twenty-one vessels of war from his fleet, and with that force entered the road of Oczakow, the wind now permitting him to enter the Liman, where his flotilla and some transport ships were already stationed. The rear-admiral was so struck at finding the tongue of land at Kinbourn without any battery or block fort, that he instantly spoke of it to the commandant, General Suvorrof. This tongue of land, from its position, commands the only passage by which large vessels can either enter or come out of the Liman, and the fortress of Kinbourn is far too distant to be able to command this passage. The rear-admiral proposed to establish one or more strong batteries upon this strip of land, and M. de Ribas seconded the proposition. After considerable delay, General Suvorrof resolved to establish a block fort with heavy cannon upon this point, and a battery farther within. But the capitan-pacha had already got the twenty-one ships in question into the Liman.

"At ten o'clock on the night between the 17th and 18th of June, the capitan-pacha attempted to carry the remains of his squadron, which had been defeated at eve, out of the Liman; but the block fort and battery fired on his ships, of which nine of the largest were forced aground upon the sand bank which runs out from Oczakow, at a distance of cannon shot from the block fort.

"The block fort and battery fired on the enemy the whole night, and at daybreak General Suvorrof sent to us, requesting that we would send vessels to

take possession of the ships of the enemy which had got aground. The rear-admiral wished to send frigates; but Brigadier Alexiano assured him that he would run great risk of losing them. The current there, he said, 'was like that of a mill-dam, and the bottom was so bad that anchors would not hold.'

"It was, accordingly, resolved to proceed with the flotilla; and Alexiano, who had his private reasons, set out with the Prince of Nassau. The flotilla went pell-mell, and without any sort of order or plan, upon the nine ships aground, and fired brandcougles into them without mercy. It was in vain the wretched Turks made the sign of the cross, and begged for quarter on their knees! Above three thousand of them were burnt with their ships. By some chance two of these vessels, the least and the largest, did not take fire; the one was a corvette, very indifferently armed, carrying one battery and four pieces between decks. The other was a small brigantine, of French construction, armed with fourteen small guns.

"Neither the Prince of Nassau nor Alexiano was to be seen at this time. They were together, and at some distance, during this frightful carnage; and it was afterwards asked of them if they had not, during this time, been at Kinbourn. As the greatest confusion reigned among the vessels of the flotilla, though our loss was not great, there is no doubt that part of it was owing to Russian bullets.

"The army of Prince Potemkin having come up on the 27th of June, the Prince of Nassau had orders

to attack and destroy, or capture, the Turkish flotilla which lay under the walls of Oczakow; and the rear-admiral was commanded to give him every assistance that might be useful. In pursuance of these orders, on the 1st of July, at one in the morning, the flotilla advanced. The rear-admiral had sent all the chaloupes and barcasses belonging to the squadron to haul out the vessels of the flotilla. The prince marshal had taken the trouble to arrange the plan of attack himself, but his plan was not followed.

"At daybreak our flotilla, having advanced only within cannon shot, opened fire upon the Turkish flotilla, and on the place. The current having carried several of our batteries and double chaloupes rather too far to leeward, the rear-admiral had them hauled up by the boats and barcasses of the squadron, and set the example himself with the chaloupe in which he was. The Turks set fire themselves to a little frigate which they had prepared as a fire-ship, and placed at anchor to the northeast of Fort Hassan Pacha.

"At six in the morning the rear-admiral advanced considerably in front of the flotilla to seize five of the enemy's galleys which lay within case shot to the east of Fort Hassan. The position of these galleys, between the cross fire of our flotilla on one side, and that of Fort Hassan, the Turkish flotilla and the citadel of Oczakow on the other, rendered this a very dangerous enterprise. The rear-admiral boarded the galley which lay farthest out, and had it towed out of danger in a short time by Lieutenant Leff

Fabrician. He afterwards boarded the galley of the capitan-pacha, which lay considerably nearer the fort. From unskilfulness, and excess of zeal, a young officer cut the cable of this galley without waiting for orders of the rear-admiral, and before the boats could be got in order to haul it out, the wind drifted the galley towards the shore, and still nearer to the fort. The rear-admiral had the galley lightened by throwing many things overboard. After much search for ropes that might stretch to the wreck of the burnt frigate, and get the galley afloat by that means, the plan failed from the ropes not being long enough. The rear-admiral was very unwilling to yield to the obstinate opposition of the Turks, who fired upon him from all their bastions and from the flotilla, and he despatched Lieutenant Fox to the Wolodimer, to fetch an anchor and cable. This was a certain means of securing his object in spite of the enemy; and in waiting the return of the lieutenant, he left the galley with his people, and assisted again in towing the batteries. Before the return of Lieutenant Fox, he had, however, the mortification to see fire break out in the galley of the capitan-pacha. He at first believed that the slaves chained on board had found means to escape, and had set fire to the vessel; but he had afterwards positive proof that Brigadier Alexiano, being in a boat at the time with the Prince of Nassau, on the outside of the flotilla, and being aware of the intention of the rear-admiral, swore that it should not succeed, and sent a Greek canoe to set fire to the galley. The three other

Turkish galleys were at once run down and burnt by brandcougles. There were also a two-masted ship and a large bomb-vessel near Fort Hassan Pacha. This includes all that was taken or destroyed by water, save fifty-two prisoners taken by the rear-admiral in the two galleys. The wretched beings who were chained in the galley of the capitan-pacha perished there in the flames!

"The prince marshal having made an important diversion on the land side, it is to be regretted that advantage was not taken of this movement to seize the remainder of the enemy's flotilla. But our flotilla never came up within reach of grape-shot.

"The moment the ships began to withdraw from Oczakow, the Prince of Nassau and Brigadier Alexiano hurried straight to the headquarters of the prince marshal to relate the things which both pretended they had performed. In a few minutes after the flotilla began to retire the rain fell in torrents, of which Nassau and Alexiano received their own share before reaching headquarters.

"Two days afterwards Brigadier Alexiano returned on board the Wolodimer, having caught a malignant fever of which he died on the 8th of July. The Prince of Nassau, who had made use of him in cabaling against me—God knows wherefore—neither visited him in his sickness, nor assisted at his funeral. At first it was given out that the service must sustain the loss of every Greek in it on account of his death; but I soon experienced the reverse. Not one asked to be dismissed; they remained under

my command with the Russians, and were more contented than before. On the day preceding the death of Alexiano he had received intelligence of having been promoted two grades; and that her majesty had bestowed on him a fine estate, and peasants, in White Russia. At the same time the Prince of Nassau had received a very valuable estate, with three or four thousand peasants, also in White Russia, and the military order of St. George, of the second class. Her majesty likewise gave him liberty to hoist the flag of vice-admiral at the taking of Oczakow, to which event it was apparently believed he would greatly contribute. I received the order of St. Anne, an honor with which I am highly flattered, and with which I could have been perfectly satisfied had others been recompensed only in the same proportion, and according to the merit of their services. All the officers of the flotilla received a step of promotion and the gratuity of a year's pay. The greater part of them also obtained the order of St. George, of the last class. Only two of these officers had been bred to the sea; none of the others had been engaged in navigation. The officers of the squadron under my command were almost wholly marine officers. They had done their duty well when opposed to the enemy; but they obtained no promotion, no mark of distinction, no pecuniary attachment. On promising that I would demand justice for them from the prince marshal at the close of the campaign, they stifled their vexation and made no complaint.

"It ought to have been mentioned in its proper place, that three days after our success in the Liman, Prince Potemkin arrived at Kinbourn, from whence he came on board the Wolodimer to make me a visit. He was accompanied by General Count de Brandisky of Poland, the Prince de Repuin, the Prince de Ligne, General de Samoilow, and several other officers. His highness did me the honor to remain to dinner; and as he knew that an altercation had taken place between the Prince of Nassau and myself on the morning of the 18th of June, he had the goodness to employ the Prince de Ligne, and M. Littlepage, chamberlain to the King of Poland, to persuade the Prince of Nassau to make me an apology. I accepted it with sincere pleasure. We embraced in presence of this honorable company, and I believed him as sincere as myself.

"The prince marshal charged me at this time to make arrangements for raising the cannon, anchors, and other effects belonging to the enemy's ships which had been burnt. Without loss of time, I detailed a transport ship with officers and people for this service.

"His highness the prince marshal advanced his army, which crossed the Bog and appeared in sight of us on the borders of the Liman, on the 27th of June, and on the next day the capitan-pacha weighed anchor with his grand fleet, which had constantly remained twenty or thirty versts beyond Kinbourn, and directed his course towards the entrance of the Danube, carrying three admiral's

flags, and followed by all the vessels that had escaped us in the Liman. During the whole time that we were exposed to having a serious affair with the Turks, Brigadier Alexiano had carefully kept a Greek felucca of eighteen oars alongside the Wolodimer. This felucca was better built for sailing than any of the other chaloupes or rowing vessels belonging to the whole squadron, so that he had at all times the means of saving himself in case of any disastrous event. Even the Prince of Nassau, since his retreat on the 6th of June, was never seen in any vessel of the flotilla, but always in a chaloupe, which had been built for the especial purpose of her imperial majesty on her late voyage. For myself, I took no such precautions. I saw that I must conquer or die. For me there was no retreat. The instant that Alexiano saw the troops appear, he despatched his felucca to inform the prince marshal that it was he, in his zeal for the service, who had employed people to save the effects of the burnt prizes. Nothing could be less true. He had not taken the smallest concern in the matter. But this shows the character of the man. Next day I was informed that the transport ship I had employed on this service was already too heavily laden, and made a great deal of water. As the wind was fair for Glauboca, I gave orders that she should immediately go thither to unload. Some hours after the departure of the transport, Brigadier Alexiano returned from Kinbourn, where he had dined, and said several impertinent things to me on the subject of the trans-

port. He went afterwards to headquarters to complain of me to the prince marshal. In consequence of this complaint I received a letter from his brigadier *du jour*, the Chevalier Ribas, which, among other things, mentioned that the prince marshal was 'singularly severe and strict in all that related to the orders he gave.' I replied that I was not afraid of the severity of the prince marshal, as I had done nothing save my duty, in pursuance of his own orders.

"Next day I paid a visit to the Prince of Nassau. I supposed I should be received with open arms (a reconciliation it will be remembered had lately taken place, as stated in the beginning of this part of the Journal), but he blew out about the transport, belonging, as he said, to his flotilla. I had told him I had been charged with that necessary business by the prince marshal; and that as all the vessels of war and transports belonged to her imperial majesty, and the transport in question was empty when I ordered it to be taken, I could not see that he had the least ground of complaint. He was mad with rage; but as the good of the service did not further require our combined operations, I thought his quarreling too puerile to concern myself about it. I took leave of him, begging him to reflect, that I had given him no cause of displeasure. I did not wish to come to a rupture with him; but on the 1st of July, seeing the day dawn, and that the flotilla was still far too distant to make the necessary attack, meeting him in his chaloupe, I asked, 'If he

did not think it time to begin the attack?' 'Is it of me you thus inquire?' he replied; 'I have nothing to say to you on the subject.' After a reply so uncivil, and so publicly made, it was impossible I could have any farther intercourse with him.

"On the 18th of June, in giving an account to the prince marshal of the fate of the nine vessels run aground in coming out of the Liman, upon the shallows, opposite the battery and block fort on the tongue of land of Kinbourn, I took the liberty to propose to him to get the Wolodimer, which had port-holes for seventy pieces of cannon, and the large frigate Alexander, which might have carried fifty pieces, completely armed, that at the first opportunity the squadron of Cherson might join that of Sevastopol; but his highness gave no orders for this purpose till the month of September, and the admiralty was so slow in acting, that the vessels were not equipped by the 18th of October, when I was recalled to St. Petersburg by an order from her imperial majesty.

"The fleet of the capitan-pacha, having sailed on the 28th of June, had a rencontre with that of Sevastopol, which had come out some days before; but the Turkish fleet being much stronger than that of Russia, the latter fled, having no more than six or seven men killed and wounded, which shows that the affair was neither close nor warm.

"After the affair of the 18th of June, the greater part of our flotilla remained several days at anchor between Kinbourn and the block fort on the end of

the tongue of land. On the 20th, the wind being strong from the west, a Turkish brigantine, equipped as a fire-ship, put off towards Kinbourn. The enemy set fire to her as they abandoned her, and she was consumed. It is surprising that the Russian seamen and pilots could be so profoundly ignorant respecting the anchorage, currents, and depth of the Liman, and, above all, at the entrance into the canal, and in the road between Oczakow and Beresane. At first not a single commander in the flotilla durst venture to cast an anchor.

"Being at the Kinbourn on the 28th of June, General Suvorrof spoke to me of the unpleasant circumstance of not being able to cut off the communication between Oczakow and Beresane. Having sounded myself, I informed him that this was quite as practicable as it was necessary, and I would place the frigates there instantly,if he would only require me to do so. He did not hesitate, and the same day I placed three frigates there. M. Alexiano did all he could to prevent this; and when he saw the frigates set off, prophesied that I need not expect to see them return. He carried his intrigues so far that the prince marshal wrote me a warning letter on the 29th, and on the 1st of July a peremptory order to withdraw them. During the short time they were there they took two Turkish armed chaloupes and a bateau laden with powder and shot; and cut off the enemy's communication between Oczakow and Beresane.

"The prince marshal had not been satisfied with

the conduct of the flotilla in the affair of attacking Oczakow on the 1st of July, which was conducted in a very irregular manner, and at too great a distance. The most advanced charge was that of the battery commanded by M. Akmatoff, who was never less than 500 toises distant from the enemy. On the 10th of July the prince marshal sent the Prince of Nassau to Sevastopol, to learn if the squadron had been much damaged in the rencontre with the Turkish fleet. Immediately after the departure of the Prince of Nassau, the prince marshal gave the Chevalier Ribas the command of the flotilla, with orders to go to Kinbourn, to receive on board the troops he destined to make a descent on the Island of Beresane. At the same time he ordered me to establish a line of blockade between that island and Oczakow. I stationed five frigates, carrying twelve-pounders, in the road for that purpose.

"On the 14th I was ordered to inspect the entrance of the Liman. I immediately went to Kinbourn to have an understanding with General Suvorrof and the Brigadier de Ribas. Though the brigadier had been incessantly occupied since the departure of the Prince of Nassau in bringing the crews of the flotilla to some sort of order, he had not yet completed this task. So great was the confusion that reigned that he could not find in any vessel five soldiers belonging to the same company; and the officers knew not where to look for their men. This retarded the embarkation of the troops destined for the descent till the 16th. The prince

marshal was so much displeased with this delay that on the 17th he gave orders to land the troops, that they might join his army before Oczakow, and that the flotilla should return into the Liman, as well as the five frigates I had posted for the blockade.

"From the commencement of the projected expedition against Beresane, M. Ribas had requested me to conduct the flotilla and the descent of the troops. Though a man of much talent, he had not the misplaced conceit of some persons who readily take upon them things far beyond their capacity. I told him, 'He well knew I ought to have commanded the flotilla, as well as the squadron, from the beginning of the campaign, but that my gratitude for the gracious reception accorded me by her imperial majesty, together with the very delicate state in which I had found affairs, had induced me to sacrifice my feelings, and even greatly to hazard my reputation for the good of the empire; that I could never so far humble myself as to request the direction of the flotilla, but if the prince marshal thought proper to propose it to me, I would do my best to make the most of it possible.'

"On the afternoon of the 17th the prince marshal proposed to give me the command of the flotilla. His highness informed me his intention was to have Oczakow attacked a second time. I replied that I was disposed to execute with zeal whatever he might think proper for the good of the service; but that to attack with advantage it was necessary to

come to close quarters, and to advance in better order than on the 1st of July. He was of the same opinion, and requested me to come ashore next day that we might concert together the plan of attack.

"I did not fail to comply with the orders of the prince marshal, but his highness spoke no more of the flotilla. I remained to dinner and supper, and afterwards returned on board of my ship. The Prince of Nassau, having returned some days before from Sevastopol, had intrigued with the Prince de Ligne; and the prince marshal had restored him to the command of the flotilla.

"On the 18th of June I had been ordered to despatch the five frigates which had returned into Liman, to be refitted at Glauboca, *en batterie* for sea service. I sent them off at daybreak on the 19th, having taken the greater part of their crews for service in the gun-boats and bomb-vessels which the prince marshal proposed to place under my command. On the 20th I received twenty-one gun-boats, each carrying a single piece, from eighteen to thirty-two-pounders; and five bomb-vessels, each carrying a mortar, of which four were of three poods, and one of five poods. The same day the prince marshal, having established his headquarters to the right of his army upon the shores of the Black Sea (he had hitherto been on the shores of the Liman, on the left wing), pointed out to me two of the enemy's gun-boats stationed close by the fort of Hassan Pacha, and the Turkish lines on the side of Beresane. He was persuaded that they would at

tempt to come out during the night with despatches, and inquired of me if it were not possible to capture them. As his highness appeared to attach great importance to this service, I undertook it.

"I returned on board the Wolodimer, from whence, at eight in the evening, I set off with five armed chaloupes. I made five gun-boats follow, as a measure of precaution in case the Turks had attempted to make a sortie, as their chaloupes sailed much faster than ours. I found one of the Turkish gun-boats aground, hauled up, and almost dry on the sands adjoining the battery, and on an intrenchment the enemy had cast up on the water's edge. It was impossible to get it afloat under the terrible fire which we sustained from all the lines and batteries on the shore. The other gun-boat lay just afloat, right against the fort of Hassan Pacha, to the south. Lieutenant Edwards boarded this vessel and cut her cables; but having had several of his men wounded, and being deserted by one of the chaloupes, he was obliged to give up the attempt lest he should be left by the other chaloupes also. During this time I had made some efforts to get the other Turkish boat afloat. I now rowed quickly to the assistance of Mr. Edwards, but the night was dark and he was already out of sight when I boarded the vessel in which he had been. I had several men wounded around me; but in defiance of the enemy I hauled the vessel out, and stationed it right opposite the headquarters of the prince marshal.

"On the 21st, at daybreak, I sailed with the

Wolodimer, followed by all the vessels of the squadron that yet remained with me, and twenty-five gun-boats and bomb-vessels that had been placed under my command. The object of this movement was again to blockade Oczakow by sea, and to cut off the communication between that place and Beresane. To accomplish this object I stationed the Wolodimer and the Alexander to blockade the channel at the entrance of the Liman, and I continued the same line of blockade into the road, by placing the smaller vessels there. As the bomb-vessels and gun-boats had no water casks, the prince marshal, who wished to see these craft opposite his headquarters, made wells be dug on shore for the accommodation of the crews; and on the 24th ordered my officer *du jour* to have the vessels stationed near the shore. I knew nothing of this change, for I had placed them the previous night in line, and far enough off to be in safety. On the 25th the wind was from the south, but blew moderately. After dinner I went to headquarters to make a visit to the prince marshal, and found, to my great astonishment, that half the boats were cast ashore, and the other half in the greatest danger. I set to work instantly, with my chaloupe, to haul off and bring to anchor all the vessels possible; and by means of anchors and cables, for which I sent to the squadron, we saved them all, except six gun-boats which went to pieces and filled with sand. On the 26th the prince marshal wrote me, by his brigadier *du jour*, to inform me that I was at liberty to place the boats

I had saved where I pleased. I placed them near the tongue of land of Kinbourn, where they had a sheltered haven and also wells for the accommodation of the men. They sustained no farther injury during the time they remained under my command. At this time two chaloupes or small cutters were placed under my orders, of which each carried two licornes of forty-eight pounds' caliber in the fore part, and six falconets on the sides. Shortly afterwards I got two larger cutters, carrying each two mortars of five poods.

"On the 31st of July the capitan-pacha again made his appearance with his fleet, followed by several vessels which he had not when he went off. His advanced guard, composed of his frigates, bomb-vessels, and small craft, cast anchor near Beresane, whilst his large squadron of ships of the line resumed their old position. The prince marshal ordered me to bring back my small vessels to assist in blocking up the passage at the entrance of the Liman; and the Prince of Nassau was ordered to block up the road with his flotilla, and thus cut off the communication of the Turkish small vessels by the shallows to the south of Fort Hassan Pacha.

"The Prince of Nassau hoisted a white flag with a blue cross on one of the galleys, on leaving the Liman; and that galley having passed under the stern of the Wolodimer on the 1st of August, he pretended that I ought to salute him as vice-admiral. 1st, When I hoisted my flag, to avoid the idly vanity of exacting a salute, I did it at night;

and the Prince of Nassau, being only a simple volunteer, did not offer to salute it. 2d, An officer without my orders, coming from Cherson, had saluted the prince without my authority, but they did not give him a single gun in return. 3d, The prince had not received the grade of vice-admiral in the service of her imperial majesty. 4th, I had no orders from the prince marshal to salute the Prince of Nassau. 5th, The latter had applied, in the last war between France and England, to serve with me, and, assuredly, not as my commander ; for, though he has made a voyage round the world, he does not yet understand the compass. 6th, On saluting an officer of a superior grade, it is necessary to go on board his flag-ship to make a report and receive orders ; and I had in no wise deserved so grave a punishment as to be put under the orders of the Prince of Nassau. Had the prince marshal been dissatisfied with my conduct on this occasion, he would have mentioned it to me, or issued an order. The Prince of Nassau, however, has endeavored to make it appear, at court especially, that his difference with me had no other foundation than in my not choosing to salute his flag. He lowered it two or three days afterwards. How should he have done so, if he had been vice-admiral?

" The capitan-pacha came out from day to day to sound and reconnoiter, in his kirlangitch, which sailed like the wind, and always displayed an admiral's flag. As the block fort and battery on the tongue of land at Kinbourn were only con-

structed of bags of sand, and were neither protected by ditch or palisade, I was afraid that the capitan-pacha might try to carry them by a sudden descent, which he could have done by landing five hundred men.

"General Suvorrof had been dangerously wounded in a sortie made by the garrison of Oczakow, and had come to Kinbourn. I convinced him that the block fort and battery seemed to be menaced, and, as he had a greater quantity of *chevaux de frise* at Kinbourn than he required, I suggested that he should employ what was superfluous in surrounding the block fort and battery. The general gave orders accordingly, and I ranged all my gun-boats and bomb-vessels hard by the strip of sand between the block fort and the battery. The small craft were, besides, always ready to change their position at the first movement of the enemy, and I placed the squadron so advantageously to communicate with the block fort and the battery, without confining their fire, and to keep back the enemy by a cross-fire, on their entering the channel of the Liman, that, though we were very weak compared with the Turkish fleet, the capitan-pacha never either attempted to make a descent, or to force the passage of the entrance of the Liman.

"The prince marshal having ordered Rear-Admiral Woynowitch to sail from Sevastopol with the fleet under his command, and that officer having raised obstacles because his force was not, he conceived, powerful enough to attack that under the command

of the capitan-pacha, his highness sent me a letter, written by his chief secretary, Brigadier Popoff, on the 19th of August (old style), proposing that I should go to Sevastopol to take command of the fleet. It may be remembered that I was brought to Russia to command all the naval force in the Black Sea, consequently this proposition did not surprise me. Had the prince marshal ordered me to go, I would have proceeded immediately, but I would not have it appear that I sought to be sent. 1st, My naval signals had not yet been translated into the Russian language, as no attention had been given to my request for a person capable of translating them. 2dly, The naval signals used in that fleet were imperfect and very limited. 3dly, I was acquainted with no one in the fleet, and I was aware that the prince marshal wished that it should come out the very day after my arrival at Sevastopol. 4thly, That fleet had been compelled to fly before that of the capitan-pacha, at a time when he had two thousand fewer good seamen. 5thly, The fleet at Sevastopol was as weak as before, but that of the capitan-pacha was stronger in craft, and had all the men replaced that had been lost in the affair of the Liman. 6thly, I had just received preparatory orders from the prince marshal to attack Fort Hassan Pacha; and I hoped to show him the difference between my fashion of attack and that of the 1st of July. I replied, in answer to his letter, that being entirely devoted to the good of the state, his highness would find me eager to fulfil his orders. It

was said that some days afterwards the prince marshal sent positive orders to Admiral Woynowitch to come out, but that he always found reasons for not dealing farther with the capitan-pacha.

"On the 30th of August the Turks took a small lodka, freighted with watermelons, belonging to the merchants of Kinbourn. In coming down the Liman the people on board had been foolish enough to pass too close to Oczakow. To 'punish the Turks' for this, the Prince of Nassau, at evening, made his flotilla advance to assault Oczakow. I sent my secretary to headquarters, and in the meanwhile assembled the commanders of divisions of my gun-boats and bomb-vessels, and ordered them to bring forward their divisions and form in line of battle between the squadron and Oczakow, ready to attack the fort of Hassan Pacha the moment orders should arrive.

"Upon the return of the capitan-pacha, M. Littlepage, chamberlain to the King of Poland, being then with the prince marshal, had solicited and obtained leave to command a division of my gun-boats. Night being come on, the chiefs of division, wishing to bring forward their boats, found that thirteen of them had already quitted their posts, against the most positive orders to make no movement without their commanders of division. This movement had been occasioned by the rashness of a Greek lieutenant belonging to the division of M. Littlepage. The boat of this lieutenant had fired eight shots against the place, and another six, but none of the

rest had fired. As this lieutenant was the most to blame, I deprived him of his command and sent him to headquarters, which was required by the prince marshal.

"The Prince of Nassau, who had very idly wanted a great deal of ammunition, pretended that my boats had prevented him from taking the whole Turkish flotilla! The Greek lieutenant whom I had disgraced, instead of being punished, was promoted to the command of a double chaloupe, mounting two aubusiers that would throw ninety-six pounds' weight of balls. M. Littlepage gave a particular account of the whole affair in a letter to the grand general of Poland.

"A few days after this the prince marshal sent Rear-Admiral Mordwinoff on board the Wolodimer to assemble all the captains and master pilots of the squadron, to hold a council on the means of effecting a junction between the squadron of Cherson and the fleet of Sevastopol. It was said that the prince marshal had earnestly entreated this officer to take the affair upon himself, and that he had positively declined it. I can say nothing on this head; I only know that it was a delicate step in relation to me, to send another officer on board my ship to hold a council; and, above all, without having apprised me either by speech or writing. If I had been stickling, I would have put this officer under arrest, as he could show no authority nor precedent for holding a council where I commanded. But as I was influenced by the good of the service above every

personal consideration, I received Admiral Mordwinoff most amicably, and after dinner assembled the officers in question for consultation. Many difficulties presented themselves to their minds against the proposed junction, and as it was known that the prince marshal was determined on the measure it was agreed that it could not be effected but at Hagdgebay, upon the coast, between Beresane and the Danube, at the distance of fifty versts from the point of Kinbourn. I raised no obstacle. I only observed that, since it was pressingly necessary to beat the advanced guard of the enemy before we could effect the proposed junction, it was indispensable to station the squadron previously in the road of Oczakow, and to sail from thence with the wind from N. to N. N. W. to avoid being attacked on the way by the grand fleet of the Turks, and to keep it to the leeward till the junction was effected. It was only a few days previously that preparations had been begun to complete the armament of the Wolodimer and Alexander.

"During this time her imperial majesty had sent twenty-four swords of massive gold to headquarters, to be distributed among the officers on account of the battle of the Liman. The prince marshal himself received a gold sword enriched with diamonds and emeralds; and the Prince of Nassau received one ornamented with a row of diamonds. There were a number of silver medals at the same time sent to be distributed among the soldiers and seamen. The swords had not yet been distributed, but the

medals were all given to the men of the flotilla, and not a solitary one to the squadron. It is usual to give subalterns the more merit the more they are exposed to the fire of the enemy, whilst the people of the flotilla were screened by parapets made of bags of wool, by which the vessels were surrounded.

"On the 18th of September I received a secret order from the prince marshal to attack the advanced guard of the enemy anchored under Beresane. His highness proposed to make the attack with the five frigates which had been sent to Glauboca to be mounted as batteries; and these frigates were to be supported by the other vessels of the squadron, excepting the Wolodimer and the Alexander, the arming of which went on very slowly on account of difficulties on the part of the admiralty.

Two of the frigates, the Scoroi and the Boristhenes, had already joined the squadron. Before the equipments of these frigates were altered, they carried more guns than are ever put, either by the French or English, into ships of the same kind. The Scoroi, for example, carried forty guns, and in England they would not have put more than thirty-two into her. She now carried sixteen thirty-six-pounders, and four licornes, eighteen-pounders.

"They called her a 'sea battery.' The amount of her caliber now, compared with what it was before, had the advantage of 648 pounds over 452; but to gain this they had been obliged to open her portholes *en echiquier*, because there was not room enough for recoil, to place the guns on each side op-

posite; and for the same reason they were obliged after all to shift the guns from their places, and make a sort of platform for the purpose on the side of the ship. And so with the others. When it was resolved to mount thirty-sixes on the five frigates, it must be supposed that the fact had not been adverted to that they had no bullets of that size, and that they would be obliged to use twenty-four-pound shot. To remedy this, recourse was had to a means entirely novel. The twenty-four-pound bullets were dipped in pitch to make them fill up the bore of the thirty-sixes. The use of these pitched bullets seems dangerous for those who work the guns; for if the smallest particle of the combustible material remains in the piece it must set fire to the next cartridge; and a single such accident would damp the courage of the most resolute men. But, putting aside all these and many other inconveniences, the only advantage gained by using the twenty-four-pound bullets for the thirty-six-pound guns on board the Scoroi would be reduced to the difference between 456, the actual caliber, and 452, the former. By experience it has been ascertained in the French marine that two shots can be fired from an eighteen-pounder for one from a thirty-six, if both pieces are worked with equal convenience. By this account it may be judged whether the change in the armament of these frigates was a good or bad operation. Without presuming to decide the question I will only say that, in my opinion, eighteen-pounders are the largest and best for frigates. I think that guns of

a larger caliber are worked too slowly for vessels which have but one battery, and cannot keep up that rolling fire so necessary in attacking Turks.

"The five frigates, of which I have perhaps spoken too much, appeared to me very fit to place behind a stoccado, or bar. But I never would make choice of ships of this kind for the sea service. The first broadside is all that is to be feared from them.

"I replied in writing to the proposition of the prince marshal for attacking the advanced guard of the Turks near Beresane, and afterward had a plan of attack drawn out for his inspection. He was much pleased with it. As it was necessary to take advantage of a northerly wind to effect the enterprise, I proposed to the prince marshal to place the frigates in the road as soon as they arrived from Glauboca, to preserve, while waiting the attack of the line, a permanent blockade between Oczakow and the enemy outside. His highness said it was not yet time for this, and ordered me to place them in a line with the other vessels of my squadron, so as to make a display in the channel of the Liman.

"In the end of the month the Turkish fleet set sail in the night, followed by all the vessels that had lain under Beresane; and we saw it at a great distance the next morning. The capitan-pacha returned in about thirty-six hours and resumed the position he had left. The only difference was that he brought in some additional small vessels, and that he considerably reinforced his advanced guard under Beresane. As our flotilla, which ought to

have blockaded the road and cut off the communication with the small vessels on that side, were only there occasionally, as if by caprice, it was quite natural for the Turks to profit by its absence, and go out and in when they found the way clear.

"The flotilla being to leeward, between my squadron and Kinbourn, on the 8th of October, the capitan-pacha sent off in the evening three vessels of his advanced guard, which entered Oczakow unmolested by an open passage. Our flotilla made no movement. I made an attempt to intercept the enemy's progress with my gunboats, which I caused to be hauled to windward by the ships' boats of the squadron. But the wind being high they could not bring them to attack. Our batteries nearest to Oczakow fired on three Turkish vessels, but without being able to arrest their progress. It was now dark; and, moreover, the distance between these batteries and the block fort on the side of Kinbourn being seven versts, the land batteries never could have prevented either the entrance or exit of small vessels. To command the entrance of the Liman, I think it is requisite to establish a fort with two batteries, one over the other on the shallows which run out a considerable distance from the point of sand off Kinbourn, towards Beresane, and which would command even the entrance of the road of Oczakow.

"One of the Turkish ships had the folly to cast anchor in the shallows of Fort Hassan Pacha; and at daybreak on the 9th, being within shot of our

most advanced land battery, was struck between wind and water, and sunk; the other two vessels got in without difficulty.

"I have already mentioned that, on the 18th of August, I received a preparatory order for attacking the fortress of Hassan Pacha with my bomb-vessels and the chaloupes armed with licornes and mortars. I expected from day to day an order for action, and had in consequence bestowed much pains in training my men to the necessary evolutions; but the final orders never arrived.

"The Prince of Nassau having cabaled against my plan of attack, it was set aside; and by a new arrangement, which I was commanded to form with General Muller, commander-in-chief of artillery, I was destined to assault the intrenchment, and the Turkish batteries on the shore of the road.

"On the 9th of October the flotilla advanced from the shores of Kinbourn, and attacked Oczakow; but this attack was conducted and ended in the very same manner as that of the 30th of August, save that a small vessel of the Turkish flotilla was stranded, which lay farther out than any of the others on the shallows this side of Fort Hassan Pacha.

"On the 10th of October I received another preparatory order; and soon afterwards was ordered to give up all the boats to the flotilla. Towards evening I went to headquarters to take particular orders in relation to these boats. The prince marshal told me he had the strongest desire to pitch

overboard a large piece of artillery placed on the fore-part of the vessel of the Turkish flotilla that stood farthest out, and which had run aground. I imagined at the time that there was no other vessel run aground save the one in the road, which was at the distance of a verst from the fortress of Hassan Pacha: so I said the thing was quite easy; for although the Turks should come up in force to defend the vessel, there would always be time to spike the piece of cannon. It was night when I undertook this little enterprise. I did not imagine the prince marshal attached so much importance to it as to wish that I should conduct it in person. I confided it to Lieutenant Edwards, a brave and an intelligent man, whom I wished to reward for past services. 1st, On the 1st of July, he had followed me throughout, and was a long time with me in the galley of the capitan-pacha. 2dly, He had followed me on the night of the 20th of July, and had boarded and cut the cable of the vessel which I took opposite the fortress of Hassan Pacha. 3dly, He had assisted me some days afterwards, when, by orders of the prince marshal, we made trial of bombarding the fort from one of the bomb-vessels; from which service we had some difficulty in withdrawing, as the wind, rising at the moment, kept us for a long while under the fire of the enemy's musketry, which wounded some of our men.

"Mr. Edwards returned before daybreak without having succeeded. He said there were a great many men in the ship, who fired on him, and that

he durst not board her, he was so ill supported. I was so vexed that he had failed that, in my report to the prince marshal, I said that I would conduct the enterprise myself next night if that would satisfy him. The prince marshal held me at my word; but it was eleven at night when Mr. Edwards returned with the order. The wind, which was high, was quite against me, as well as a strong tide; and I would have deferred the attempt if I had not conceived my honor pledged. I was led to hope that after midnight the wind might fall, and the strength of the tide lessen, if it did not change. The night was very dark, and the rain fell in torrents. I waited till two o'clock, when the moon rose. I had with me five armed canoes, and I calculated on being followed by four bateaux (Zaporavians) and by one of the armed vessels I had taken from the Turks; but it was impossible to tow them against wind and tide, and I was compelled to go on as best I could, with only my five canoes. I have noticed that our flotilla had run aground a small Turkish vessel in the shallow of the fortress of Hassan Pacha, but I did not perceive this till the 11th, after I had despatched Mr. Edwards to headquarters, because the vessel lay so near the fortress, where the water is of little depth, that it had only sunk a foot or fifteen inches, and consequently appeared as if still afloat. As the prince marshal had only spoken to me of the farthest out of the Turkish flotilla, I began to think he meant to designate the one nearest the fortress, in which

idea I was confirmed by Mr. Edwards, at his return from headquarters, telling me he had heard ashore that the vessel run down in the road had been visited, but that nothing had been found there. I rowed for the vessel nearest the fortress, which carried, like most of the others alongside, a large cannon in her bow; but after having fatigued my rowers, I was vexed to see daylight appear, whilst I had still more than a verst to go before I could reach the vessel. I returned on board my own ship to prevent a useless alarm, being persuaded I should succeed next night. Without waiting to receive my report, the prince marshal sent me orders 'to abandon the enterprise, for he had entrusted it to other ships.' There was fine weather on the night between the 12th and the 13th, but the 'other ships' did nothing; and the Turks availed themselves of an open way to bring out all their flotilla, which rejoined the ships of the advanced guard under Beresane.

"Some days afterwards a colonel of Cossacks boarded the vessel run down in the road, and set fire to it, by leaving in it lighted brandcougles, for which he received public thanks.

"On the 13th the prince marshal wished to establish a permanent line of blockade in the road by placing my frigates there, and some other small vessels. He wrote me a letter on this subject on that day, which contained things that strongly affected me, and to which I replied next day with perhaps too much freedom and warmth. This occa-

sioned an interchange of letters between his highness and myself, which was only terminated on the 18th by the arrival of Admiral Mordwinoff to take command of the squadron and the flotilla; for the Prince of Nassau had set off for Warsaw some days after his affair of the 9th, with which the prince marshal had been much dissatisfied. I at the same time received orders from her imperial majesty to go to St. Petersburg to be employed in the North Sea. Sweden had declared war against Russia at the commencement of the campaign, and Admiral Greig, who had commanded the Russian fleet, having died, I was assured her majesty had very important views in recalling me. Yet I could not but feel grieved to be deprived of my command when the campaign, so far as regarded maritime operations, was so nearly concluded.

"As soon as the Prince of Nassau went off all the gold swords were distributed to the officers of the flotilla. It is easy to imagine that this arrangement, as well as many others which preceded it, was not calculated to give me pleasure. The capture of the Turkish galley, and the boarding of the galley of the capitan-pacha on the 1st of July, were without dispute the most brilliant actions of the campaign of the Liman. The credit of them was most unjustly given to the flotilla, and my officers remained without any reward for the important services which they had rendered in these affairs, besides those of the 18th of June, the 30th of August, and the 9th of October, from which they reaped no advantage

After the gold swords had been distributed, I myself heard several of the officers who got them to express their astonishment, not being able to guess for what they had been so highly rewarded.

"It is worthy of notice that all the large vessels which the flotilla attacked were previously aground. In this case they might be compared to men with their feet nailed to planks, and their hands tied behind their backs. This is the only instance in history of ships aground, and out of the possibility of being recaptured, being attacked and destroyed, with their crews, by combustibles such as the brandcougles. It may be recollected that during the whole campaign the flotilla had not taken even one small vessel afloat. Since a very mistaken notion has been formed of the vessels taken in the Liman on the 17th and 18th of June, which have been called 'ships of the line,' it is but right to say that I made Lieutenant Fox measure the hulls of the two largest, and we found that the size of the one was 130, and of the other 135, feet English in total length, in the line of their first battery. Apply this to naval architecture. Yet the Prince of Nassau has been rewarded in a brilliant manner for 'having destroyed six, and captured two, ships of the line.' The only three-masted vessel which escaped burning upon the 18th of June was a caravel of one battery, and four pieces between decks. There escaped also one small brigantine of fourteen three-pounders. Such were the two vessels of the line that were captured, and the latter was wrecked next

day by the carelessness of those who had the charge of her. In place of eight vessels of the line, the capitan-pacha had come into the Liman with only a detachment of caravels, or large merchantmen, frigates, bomb-ships, and other smaller craft. Only four of the caravels carried guns between decks. Of this number was the vessel saved. On one of these four vessels was displayed a square flag; but there was the same on the galley and the kirlangitch of the capitan-pacha. It has been already said that the grand fleet without Kinbourn displayed three admirals' flags. But by the history of the campaign given by the Prince of Nassau, it appears that the capitan-pacha had lost his best ship, manned with the picked men of his fleet, and his only flag as grand admiral, while it is well known that at the end of the campaign he went back to Constantinople with all the ships of the line he had at its commencement.

"As I was told that some ill-intentioned persons in the army had said that I had been deprived of my command because the officers were unwilling to serve under me, I endeavored to procure testimonials to the contrary, and have seen with regret that the mind is not always free; and that men sometimes dare not render homage to truth.

"The last of the five frigates, called at the time 'sea batteries,' did not rejoin the squadron until the 19th of October, and on the same day Admiral Mordwinoff placed the line of the blockading vessels in the road, much further out than before, so as to

mask the fire of all the guns ashore on both sides. It was ill-judged, because the land batteries ought always to be able to flank a line of blockade formed by vessels or floating batteries. On the 20th, the wind being rather fresh from the north, the admiral made a signal at 3 P.M. for all the flotilla to leave the road, and come while it was in their favor to take station near Kinbourn. This movement was entirely unnecessary for the safety of the flotilla; but the capitan-pacha availed himself of it, and got in on the same night twenty-four vessels loaded with ammunition for the garrison, and having on board, besides their crews, 2,700 men. The flotilla attacked these vessels on the succeeding days; but the Turks, having taken out their cargoes, hauled them up on the road under the cannon of their batteries, where much harm could not be done to them.

"Having reflected that the season was too far advanced to render my services necessary in the North Sea before the following year, I wrote to the prince marshal, offering to continue my services till the end of the campaign. I was indebted to him for the order of St. Anne, and I have a heart naturally grateful. He directed his secretary, M. Popoff, to write me, that since I was recalled by the order of the empress it was necessary I should go.

"I was invited to headquarters to take leave, and to receive a letter from the prince marshal for her imperial majesty.

"As I was much interested personally, and still more so in relation to my officers, I after dinner

spoke freely, and told M. Popoff all that was on my mind. This brigadier repeated what I had said to the prince marshal. He was vexed at first, but afterwards he sent for me to talk with him. Without failing in the respect due to him, I spoke to him freely enough. I told him he had played an unfair game at the opening of the campaign in dividing the command in the Liman in the existing circumstances of the country; and that, if I had not resolved to sacrifice my own feelings in order to manage the persons he had given me for colleagues, the campaign would have taken a very different turn. He replied, 'Agreed; but it is too late now.' He then said he would be glad to see me fixed in Russia, and that he was disposed to give me solid proofs of his esteem, both now and in future. I showed him the testimonial of the captain of the Wolodimer, and some other papers, to convince him that he had neither done justice to me nor to the squadron. He said the Prince of Nassau pretended all was done by himself; 'but I have never,' said he, 'been deceived in him. I have always known him for what he is.' He proposed that I should go to Tagenroc to equip and command a squadron he was building there; but as I had been brought to Russia to take the chief command in the Black Sea, and had received orders from the empress to repair to St. Petersburg, I declined the offer. I only entreated that he would consider the services of my officers, and give them the seniority they had lost by the promotion of those officers of the flotilla who did not belong to the

naval service. Admiral Mordwinoff made the same request, and the prince promised to do them justice.

"Two days afterwards I received a letter from the prince marshal for the empress, in which he noticed the zeal and anxiety I had ever shown for her service, and to render myself worthy of her favor.

"On the 4th of November the capitan-pacha, having withdrawn his advance guard in the night, set sail in the morning with his whole force, entering first Varna, and afterwards Constantinople, with every ship of the line he had at the opening of the campaign. It is singular that this enterprising commander did not attempt to force the entrance of the Liman; for Admiral Mordwinoff had placed the squadron in so exposed and disadvantageous a situation that the fire of the land batteries, which should have flanked him without, was entirely covered. But it may be presumed that the Turkish admiral believed he had done enough for the safety of Oczakow by the succors he had thrown into the place.

"On the morning of the 7th, agreeably to a secret order from the prince marshal, the Zaporavians landed, to the number of 2,000, on the island of Beresane. The Turkish garrison, being only 300 strong, fired a few random shots, and then surrendered with discretion.

"Having given the officers whom I had commanded such testimonials as they merited, I em-

barked on the morning of the 9th of November in a small open galley for Cherson. I was three days and three nights on the way, and suffered a great deal from the excessive cold. The day after my arrival the river was frozen up, and I was taken dangerously ill. My health was not sufficiently re-established to enable me to proceed before the 6th of December. Having arrived at St. Elizabeth, I received intelligence that Oczakow had been taken by storm on the 6th. The garrison was 11,000 strong, including the 3,000 that the capitan-pacha had thrown into the place before he sailed. But the cold had become extreme, and the Russian army being formed in six columns to attack the place at day-dawn, the Turks were completely disconcerted. Judging from the past, they expected no such visit; and, becoming panic-struck, suffered their throats to be cut like so many sheep. In the fury of the assault the Russian soldiers spared nothing. I have been assured that from 18,000 to 19,000 Turks perished on that day.

"As I wished to delay my arrival at court till that of the prince marshal, I stopped some days at Skloff, where General Soritsch loaded me with civilities. I arrived at St. Petersburg on the 28th of December, and was ordered to appear at court on the 31st, when her imperial majesty did me the honor of granting me a private audience. I presented the letter the prince marshal had given me. A few days afterwards the empress sent me word, through Count de Emitrigus-Mamonow, that she must await the

arrival of Prince Potemkin before deciding on what she would do for me. In the meanwhile Count Besborodko told me that a command of greater importance was intended for me than that of the Black Sea. . . . "

CHAPTER XVI.

THE GRATITUDE OF KINGS.

When Mr. Littlepage left the Liman the rear admiral despatched letters by him to Mr. Jefferson. He was uncertain, as it appears from them, whether those last addressed by him to the same gentleman, from Copenhagen, had been received. The anxiety he expressed about some of the features of the American Constitution shows that his thoughts turned to the land of his adoption, and the country which was in fact his own.

Jones arrived at St. Petersburg on the 28th of December, after having been detained at St. Elizabeth by the indisposition which he mentions, and on the day following addressed the Comte de Mordwinoff, desiring as early an opportunity as possible of presenting Potemkin's letter, of which he was the bearer, to the empress.

Shortly after his arrival an infamous conspiracy to ruin his character was gotten up, and might have been successful had not his friends assisted him earnestly in exposing the falsehood of the charges attempted to be fastened on him. The nature of these charges, with the history of the persecution raised upon them will be found in the following

letter to Potemkin. Who its authors were can never be known. Both Count Segur and Jones unhesitatingly ascribe it to English officers in the Russian navy, and the English merchants. It was the most natural supposition, in the absence of all positive proof; but it was supposition only.

"St. Petersburg, 13*th April*, 1789.

"My Lord,—Having had the advantage to serve under your orders and in your sight, I remember with particular satisfaction the kind promises and testimonies of your friendship with which you have honored me. As I have served all my life for honor, I had no other motive for accepting the flattering invitation of her imperial majesty than a laudable ambition to distinguish myself in the service of a sovereign so magnanimous and illustrious; for I have never yet bent the knee to self-interest, nor drawn my sword for hire. A few days ago I thought myself one of the happiest men in the empire! Your highness had renewed to me your promise of friendship, and the empress had assigned me a command of a nature to occupy the most active and enterprising genius.

"A bad woman has accused me of violating her daughter! If she had told the truth, I should have candor enough to own it, and would trust my honor, which is a thousand times dearer to me than my life, to the mercy of the empress. I declare, with an assurance becoming a military character, that I am innocent. Till that unhappy moment I have enjoyed

the public esteem, and the affection of all who knew me. Shall it be said that in Russia a wretched woman, who eloped from her husband and family in the country, stole away her daughter, lives here in a house of bad fame, and leads a debauched and adulterous life, has found credit enough on a simple complaint, unsupported by any proof, to affect the honor of a general officer of reputation, who has merited and received the decorations of America, of France, and of this empire?

"If I had been favored with the least intimation of a complaint of that nature having found its way to the sovereign, I know too well what belongs to delicacy to have presented myself in the presence of the empress before my justification.

"My servant was kept prisoner by the officers of the police for several hours, two days successively, and threatened with the knout.

"After the examination of my people before the police, I sent for and employed Monsieur Crimpin as my advocate. As the mother had addressed herself to him before to plead her cause, she naturally spoke to him without reserve, and he learned from her a number of important facts, among others, that she was counseled and supported by a distinguished man of the court.

"By the certificate of the father, attested by the pastor of the colony, the daughter is several years older than is expressed in the complaint. And the complaint contains various other points equally false and easy to be refuted. For instance, there is a con-

versation I am said to have held with the daughter in the Russian language, of which no person ever heard me pronounce two words together; it is unknown to me.

"I thought that in every country a man accused had a right to employ advocates, and to avail himself of his friends for his justification. Judge, my prince, of my astonishment and distress of mind, when yesterday I was informed that the day before the governor of the city had sent for my advocate and forbidden him, at his peril, or any other person, to meddle with my cause!

"I am innocent before God! and my conscience knows no reproach. The complaint brought against me is an infamous lie, and there is no circumstance that gives it even an air of probability.

"I address myself to you with confidence, my prince, and am assured that the friendship you have so kindly promised me will be immediately exerted in my favor; and that you will not suffer the illustrious sovereign of this great empire to be misled by the false insinuations and secret cabals of my hidden enemies. Your mind will find more true pleasure in pleading the cause of an innocent man whom you honor with your friendship, than can result from other victories equally glorious with that of Oczakow, which will always rank among the most brilliant of military achievements. If your highness will condescend to question Monsieur Crimpin (for he dare not now even speak to me), he can tell you many circumstances which will elucidate my inno-

cence. I am, with profound respect, my lord, your highness's devoted and most obedient servant."

Count de Segur, who was certainly a warm and disinterested friend of Jones, has given a narrative of this affair, overwrought in most particulars, egotistical in many, and in some not very material points incorrect, as appears from the statements of Jones himself. Those who have perused the count's reminiscences will be at no loss to account for the coloring given to this particular transaction, as it is the same thrown over many others by that worthy and self-complacent, and not uninteresting, writer. He says:

"The American rear-admiral was favorably welcomed at court; often invited to dinner by the empress, and received with distinction into the best society in the city; on a sudden, Catharine commanded him to appear no more in her presence.

"He was informed that he was accused of an infamous crime; of assaulting a young girl of fourteen, of grossly violating her; and that probably, after some preliminary information, he would be tried by the courts of admiralty, in which there were many English officers, who were strongly prejudiced against him.

"As soon as this order was known every one abandoned the unhappy American; no one spoke to him, people avoided saluting him, and every door was shut against him. All those by whom but yesterday he had been eagerly welcomed now fled

from him as if he had been infected with a plague: besides, no advocate would take charge of his cause, and no public man would consent to listen to him; at last even his servants would not continue in his service; and Paul Jones, whose exploits every one had so recently been ready to proclaim, and whose friendship had been sought after, found himself alone in the midst of an immense population; St. Petersburg, a great capital, became to him a desert.

"I went to see him; he was moved to tears by my visit. 'I was unwilling,' he said to me, shaking me by the hand, 'to knock at your door, and expose myself to a fresh affront, which would have been more cutting than all the rest. I have braved death a thousand times; now I wish for it.' His appearance, his arms being laid upon the table, made me suspect some desperate intention.

"'Resume,' I said to him, 'your composure and your courage. Do you not know that human life, like the sea, has its storms, and that fortune is even more capricious than the winds? If, as I hope, you are innocent, brave this sudden tempest; if, unhappily, you are guilty, confess it to me with unreserved frankness, and I will do everything I can to snatch you, by a sudden flight, from the danger which threatens you.'

"'I swear to you upon my honor,' said he, 'that I am innocent, and a victim of a most infamous calumny. This is the truth. Some days since a young girl came to me in the morning to ask me if I could give her some linen or lace to mend. She then in-

dulged in some rather earnest and indecent allurements. Astonished at so much boldness in one of such few years, I felt compassion for her; I advised her not to enter upon so vile a career, gave her some money, and dismissed her; but she was determined to remain.

"'Impatient at this resistance, I took her by the hand and led her to the door; but at the instant when the door was opened, the little profligate tore her sleeves and her neck-kerchief, raised great cries, complained that I had assaulted her, and threw herself into the arms of an old woman, whom she called her mother, and who, certainly, was not brought there by chance. The mother and the daughter raised the house with their cries, went out, and denounced me; and now you know all.'

"'Very well,' said I, 'but cannot you learn the names of those adventurers?' 'The porter knows them,' he replied. 'Here are their names written down, but I do not know where they live. I was desirious of immediately presenting a memorial about this ridiculous affair, first to the minister, and then to the empress; but I have been interdicted from access to both of them.' 'Give me the paper,' I said; 'resume your accustomed firmness; be comforted; let me undertake it; in a short time we shall meet again.'

"As soon as I had returned home I directed some sharp and intelligent agents who were devoted to me to get information respecting these suspected females, and to find out what was their mode of life

I was not long in learning that the old woman was in the habit of carrying on a vile traffic in young girls, whom she passed off as her daughters.

"When I was furnished with all the documents and attestations for which I had occasion, I hastened to show them to Paul Jones. 'You have nothing more to fear,' said I; 'the wretches are unmasked. It is only necessary to open the eyes of the empress, and let her see how unworthily she has been deceived; but this is not so very easy: truth encounters a multitude of people at the doors of a palace, who are very clever in arresting its progress; and sealed letters are, of all others, those which are intercepted with the greatest art and care. Nevertheless, I know that the empress, who is not ignorant of this, has directed, under very heavy penalties, that no one shall detain on the way any letters which are addressed to her personally, and which may be sent to her by post; therefore, here is a very long letter which I have written to her in your name. Nothing of the detail is omitted, although it contains some rough expressions. I am sorry for the empress; but, since she heard and gave credit to a calumny, it is but right that she should read the justification with patience. Copy this letter, sign it, and I will take charge of it; I will send some one to put it in the post at the nearest town. Take courage; believe me, your triumph is not doubtful.'

"In fact, the letter was sent and put in the post; the empress received it; and, after having read the memorial, which was fully explanatory, and accom-

panied by undeniable attestations, she inveighed bitterly against the informers, revoked her rigorous orders, recalled Paul Jones to court, and received him with her usual kindness.

"That brave seaman enjoyed with a becoming pride a reparation which was due him; but he trusted very little to the compliments that were unblushingly heaped upon him by the many persons who had fled from him in his disgrace; and, shortly afterwards, disgusted with a country where the fortunes of a man may be exposed to such humiliations, under the pretense of ill-health, he asked leave of the empress to retire, which she granted him, as well as an honorable order and a suitable pension.

"He took leave, after having expressed to me his gratitude for the service which I had rendered him; and his respect for the sovereign, who, although she might be led into an error, knew at least how to make an honorable reparation for a fault and an act of injustice."

Count Segur is wrong in stating that Jones received either an order or a pension. Neither baubles nor money were doled out to him, and all he did obtain was an honorable leave of absence, at his own cost. The malign influence exerted against him triumphed, from whatever source it may have proceeded. Of what this source was, Jones afterwards received dark and unsatisfactory information. The order of St. Anne, the only one which he received from Russia, had been previously awarded to him, and

was of an inferior grade, not conferred by the empress herself directly.

With an audience of leave, and the gracious compliment of being wished "a good journey" by the empress, Jones bade farewell to the Russian court.

From a letter subsequently written by Jones to the Chevalier Bourgoing, French minister at Hamburg, it appears that, when he left St. Petersburg, his intention was to have revisited Copenhagen. "I meant," he says, "on my way to have availed myself of the occasion of seeing the late grand review of the Prussian army. My friend, the Count de Segur, favored me in consequence with letters for your excellency and for the Count d'Esterns, whereof you will find a copy in the enclosed packet for the Baron de la Houze, which I leave under a flying seal for your perusal, and beg you to forward to him. On my arrival at Warsaw my friends advised me not to appear at the courts of Berlin or Copenhagen under the present political circumstances. As it was known that I had left Russia dissatisfied, I thought best to give my enemies there no handle against me (they had insinuated that I would accept a command in the Swedish navy), so I remained in Poland two months, and was treated with the greatest hospitality and politeness by the king and people of fashion. From the present troubles in Brabant, the necessity of supporting Sweden through the contest she has been led to engage in, and other circumstances, I need not observe to a man of your information and judg-

ment that I fear there will be no peace this winter; and that the Baltic will witness warmer work than it has yet done."

The nature of his reception at the court of Warsaw is sufficiently indicated in the foregoing epistle. His first occupation on arriving in that capital appears to have been to prepare a journal of his American campaigns, and a sketch of that of the Liman, for the perusal of the empress, on a hint she had dropped, probably at a former period.

From Warsaw he went to Amsterdam, and there wrote to General Washington a letter of devotion and praise, under date of December 20th, 1789.

On the same date he wrote to the Hon. Charles Thompson, secretary of Congress. The letter concludes as follows :

"You mentioned to me at New York a small but convenient estate to be sold in the neighborhood of Lancaster. I think you said it had belonged to Mr. George Ross. May I ask the favor of you to inquire about it, and favor me with your opinion about the purchase of it? I shall probably come to America in the summer, if the empress does not invite me to return to Russia before the opening of the next campaign; a thing I do not expect."

Jones went to England, as has been mentioned, to make his arrangements with Dr. Bancroft, and returned to Paris the same spring. He had been expected in that city early in the winter, as appears by a letter to him from Mr. Short, United States

consul at the court of France, to whom he had written in relation to the medal, and, as it would seem, to the feasibility of having a series struck, commemorating his victories It also appears by this letter that M. Grand, Jones' banker in Paris, had no money belonging to him in his hands at this time; which corroborates the belief that he visited England from necessity.

The first letter from Paris, among his papers, is to M. Genet, who remained at the Russian court after Count Segur had left it. It is dated June 1st.

"As I arrived here," he says, "only a few days ago from Holland and England, I have not yet had the pleasure to see your sister. I hope to have the honor very soon, and will deliver to her my bust, as a mark of personal regard towards your father and yourself. M. de Simolin does me the honor to forward this letter to you. I have shown him proof that, if I have not sought to avenge myself of the unjust and cruel treatment I met with in Russia, my forbearance has been only the result of my delicate attachment towards the empress." "You will oblige me by inquiring at the cabinet, and demanding the appointments due to me for the current year, which ends the 1st of July, agreeably to the promise of the empress, communicated to me by the Counts de Bruce and Besborodko. I wish to have that money immediately transmitted to me."

The following letter to his sister, Mrs. Taylor, is one of the few documents which remain to be inserted, that can be read without painful associations. The

last enemy with whom all men have to contend, and to whom they must all yield up their earthly possessions, hopes, and dreams, had already effected a lodgment in the constitution of Jones; and the period of action was closed for him. Disappointment from many quarters embittered the last two years of his life, and promoted the progress of the disease, or, more properly, the complication of diseases, which was hurrying him from a world of restlessness and perplexity.

"AMSTERDAM, *March* 26, 1790.

"I wrote you, my dear friend, from Paris, by Mr. Kennedy, who delivered me the kind letter you wrote me by him. Circumstances obliged me to return soon afterwards to America, and on my arrival in New York Mr. Thomson delivered me a letter that had been entrusted to his care by Mrs. Loudon. It would be superfluous to mention the great satisfaction I received in hearing from two persons I so much love and esteem, and whose worthy conduct as wives and mothers is so respectable in my eyes. Since my return to Europe a train of circumstances and changes of residence have combined to keep me silent. This has given me more pain than I can express, for I have a tender regard for you both, and nothing can be indifferent to me that regards your happiness and the welfare of your children. I wish for a particular detail of their age, respective talents, characters, and education. I do not desire this information merely from curiosity. It would

afford me real satisfaction to be useful to their establishment in life. We must study the genius and inclination of the boys, and try to fit them, by a suitable education, for the pursuits we may be able to adopt for their advantage. When their education shall be advanced to a proper stage, at the school of Dumfries, for instance, it must then be determined whether it may be most economical and advantageous for them to go to Edinburgh or France to finish their studies. All this is supposing them to have great natural genius and goodness of disposition, for without these they can never become eminent. For the females, they require an education suited to the delicacy of character that is becoming in their sex. I wish I had a fortune to offer to each of them; but though this is not the case, I may yet be useful to them. And I desire particularly to be useful to the two young women who have a double claim on my regard, as they have lost their father. Present my kind compliments to Mrs. Loudon, to her husband, to Mr. Taylor, and your two families, and depend upon my affectionate attachment.

"Write me without delay, and having sealed and directed your letter as you did the one you sent me by Mr. Kennedy, let it be enclosed in a cover, and direct the cover thus: 'To Messieurs Stophorst and Hubbard, Amsterdam.' You will inquire if it be necessary to pay a part of the postage, in order that the letter may be sent to Holland in the packet. I should be glad if the two Miss Youngs would do me

the favor to write me each a paragraph in your letter, or to write to me, if they prefer it, each a separate letter, and I should be glad to find that they understand and can write French."

On the 24th of July, 1790, he wrote to Prince Potemkin, recalling his promises and the flattering words of the empress.

Early the next year, 1791, he again memorialized the empress, having, for aught that appears to the contrary, heard nothing directly or indirectly from Potemkin, and having been cheered with no intimation from the empress that she had read his journals and justificatory papers, or held him in remembrance as an officer subject to her orders.

To several letters written by him at the close of February, in which he seems to have had a respite from the immediate effects of his malady, it is merely necessary to allude. The United States having named a vice-consul for the port of Marseilles, and the appointment of other functionaries for commercial purposes in different European ports being expected, he offered to his banker in Paris (M. Grand) his good offices with the United States' Secretary of Legation, Mr. Short, to procure him such a situation which he seemed desirous of obtaining; and to the latter gentleman he wrote recommending M. Neissen, a merchant of Amsterdam, and friend of his, to be nominated as consul for that port. He also recommended the appointment of a commercial agent at Elsineur. He says in the con-

clusion of this letter: "I called the other day on M. Dupres, who informed me that Mr. Jefferson had taken from him the dies of my medal, after three examples only had been struck. Pray are the dies in your possession, or are they carried to America? Accept my compliments on your success, and on the credit of your country. But I am still of opinion that a loan may be made at less than five per cent." He enclosed his vindicatory papers in relation to the Russian campaign, to the Hon. William Carmichael, who was in a diplomatic capacity at Madrid. He says: "You will judge how unfortunate I was in having to do with the greatest knight of industry under the sun: an enemy the more dangerous as his ignorance, which has since appeared in such glaring colors to all Europe, had put me off my guard. Soon after I left Russia I sent to the empress my journal of the important campaign I commanded on the Liman, and before Oczakow; but it contained such damning proofs against my enemies that it has undoubtedly been intercepted. As a sure occasion offers, I shall write again next month; and my letter will contain my resignation, in case I receive no immediate satisfaction."

The last letter preserved, in which he indicates a wish to cling to his Russian engagements, is one to the Baron de Grimm, who was then at Bourbon le Bair, and which is dated July 9th, 1791.

The empress replied to a letter from Grimm communicating the admiral's suggestions; she men

tioned that there was a prospect of peace, and intimated that if she should have occasion for the services of Jones she would communicate directly with him, without the necessity of the baron's intervention.

From this time the symptoms of Jones rapidly grew alarming and unequivocal. He was seized with jaundice, to which dropsy succeeded, and died on the 18th of July, 1792. The following letters of M. Beaupoil and Colonel Blackden to the sisters of the rear-admiral, furnish the best account of his last moments and the manner of his death:

"MADAM,—I am sorry to acquaint you that your brother, Admiral Paul Jones, my friend, paid yesterday the debt we all owe to nature. He has made a will, which is deposited in the hands of Mr. Badinier, notary, St. Servin Street, Paris. The will was drawn in English by Mr. Gouverneur Morris, minister of the United States, and translated faithfully by the French notary aforesaid. The admiral leaves his property, real and personal, to his two sisters and their children. They are named in the will as being married, one to William Taylor, and the other to——Loudon, of Dumfries. The executor is Mr. Robert Morris of Philadelphia. If I could be of any service to you in this business, out of the friendship I bore your brother, I would do it with pleasure. I am a Frenchman and an officer. I am sincerely yours,

"BEAUPOIL.

"PARIS, *July* 19, 1792, No. 7, Hotel Anglais.
"Passage des Pétis Pères.

"The English will is signed by Colonels Swan, Blackden, and myself. The schedule of his property lying in Denmark, Russia, France, America, and elsewhere, is signed by Mr. Morris, and deposited by me in his bureau, with the original will. Everything is sealed up at his lodgings, Tournon Street, No. 42, Paris.

"You may also depend on the good services of Colonel Blackden, who was an intimate friend of the admiral's. That gentleman is setting out for London, where you may hear of him at No. 18, Great Tichfield Street, London."

"London, *August 9th*, 1792.

"Madam,—I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 3d instant, and shall answer you most readily. Your brother, Admiral Jones, was not in good health for about a year, but had not been so unwell as to keep house. For two months past he began to lose his appetite, to grow yellow, and show signs of the jaundice; for this he took medicine, and seemed to grow better; but about ten days before his death his legs began to swell, which increased upwards, so that two days before his exit he could not button his waistcoat, and had great difficulty of breathing.

"I visited him every day, and, beginning to be apprehensive of his danger, desired him to settle his affairs; but this he put off till the afternoon of his death, when he was prevailed on to send for a notaire, and made his will. Mr. Beaupoil and my-

self witnessed it at about eight o'clock in the evening, and left him sitting in a chair. A few minutes after we retired, he walked into his chamber, and laid himself upon his face, on the bedside, with his feet on the floor; after the queen's physician arrived they went into the room, and found him in that position and upon taking him up, they found that he had expired.

"His disorder had terminated in dropsy of the breast. His body was put into a leaden coffin on the 20th, that in case the United States, whom he had so essentially served, and with so much honor to himself, should claim his remains, they might be more easily removed. This is all, Madam, that I can say concerning his illness and death.

"I most sincerely condole with you, Madam, upon the loss of my dear and respectable friend, for whom I entertained the greatest affection, and as a proof of it, you may command the utmost exertion of my feeble abilities, which shall be rendered with cheerfulness. I have the honor to be, Madam, your most obedient and humble servant,

"S. Blackden."

It will be seen from these letters that though suffering so severely from bodily affliction, and no doubt equally from mental restlessness and disquietude, Jones did not die without the sympathy and succor of respectable friends, nor in obscurity and actual want, as has been surmised, and indeed stated, in some notices of his life. The credentials

of his excellency Gouverneur Morris, as minister plenipotentiary to the court of France, had been forwarded to him from America in the latter end of January preceding, at which time, it is inferred from a letter of Mr. Jefferson to him, he was not in Paris. With him, therefore, Jones could not have had a long intercourse; but it is known that, though he was not present at the rear-admiral's funeral, the ambassador showed him every attention, and it appears from his attest to a schedule that he was with him on the day before his death.

One ray of brightness might have gilded the gloom which overhung the latter days of Jones' life; but there is little reason to believe that he was cheered by beholding it. He might have learned that the United States had yet business for him to execute, in which the feelings of our citizens were deeply enlisted; and the management of which, in the opinion of government, required both dexterity and energy. It was a business too in relation to which he had for several years expressed his ardent desire to be useful. But the mission came too late. On the 1st of June Mr. Jefferson wrote to him from Philadelpha, informing him that the President had thought proper to appoint him commissioner for treating with the Dey and government of Algiers on the subjects of peace and ransom of American captives remaining in the power of that regency. A knowledge of the appointment was to rest with the President, Mr. Pinckney, who had just been appointed minister to England, and Mr. Jef-

ferson. The secret instructions given in the letter are of much interest.

The national assembly paid his memory the honor of sending a deputation of twelve of their body to attend the funeral. He was buried at Paris on the 20th of July.

"Testament of Paul Jones, 18th July, 1792.

"Before the undersigned notaries, at Paris, appeared Mr. John Paul Jones, citizen of the United States of America, resident at present in Paris, lodged in the Street of Tournon, No. 42, at the house of M. Dorberque, *huissier audiancier* of the tribunal of the third arrondissement, found in a parlor in the first story above the floor, lighted by two windows opening on the said Street of Tournon, sitting in an armchair, sick of body, but sound of mind, memory, and understanding, as it appeared to the undersigned notaries by his discourse and conversation,—

"Who, in view of death, has made, dictated, and worded, to the undersigned notaries, his testament as follows:

"I give and bequeath all the goods, as well movable as heritable, and all, generally, whatever may appertain to me at my decease, in whatever country they may be situated, to my two sisters, Janette, spouse to William Taylor, and Mary, wife to Mr. Loudon, and to the children of my said sisters, to divide them into as many portions as my said

sisters and their children shall make up individuals, and to be enjoyed by them in the following manner:

"My sisters, and those of their children who, on the day of my death, shall have reached the age of twenty-one, will enjoy their share in full property from the date of decease. As for those of my nephews and nieces who at that period of time may not reach the age of twenty-one years, their mothers will enjoy their shares till such time as they attain that said age, with charge to them to provide for their food, maintenance, and education; and as soon as any of my nephews or nieces will have reached the age of twenty-one years, the same will enjoy his share in full property.

"If one or more of my nephews and nieces should happen to die without children before having reached the age of twenty-one, the share of those of them who may have deceased shall be divided betwixt my said sisters and my other nephews and nieces by equal portions.

"I name the Honorable Robert Morris, Esq., of Philadelphia, my only testamentary executor.

"I revoke all other testaments or codicils which I may have made before the present, which alone I stand by as containing my last will.

"So made, dictated, and worded, by said testator, to the said notaries undersigned, and afterwards read, and read over again to him by one of them, the other being present, which he well understood, and persevered in, at Paris, the year 1792, the 18th

July, about five o'clock afternoon, in the room heretofore described, and the said testator signed the original of the present, unregistered, at Paris, the 25th September, 1792, by Defrance, who received one livre, provisionally, save to determine definitively the right after the declaration of the revenue of the testator. The original remained with Mr. Pottier, one of the notaries at Paris, undersigned, who delivered these presents this day, 26th September, 1792, first of the French republic.

"POTTIER.
(Signed) "L'AVERNIER."

"Schedule of the property of Admiral John Paul Jones, as stated by him to me this 18th of July, 1792.

"1. Bank stock in the Bank of North America, at Philadelphia, six thousand dollars, with sundry dividends.

"2. Loan-Office certificate left with my friend Mr. Ross, of Philadelphia, for two thousand dollars, at par, with great arrearages of interest, being for ten or twelve years.

"3. Such balance as may be in the hands of my said friend John Ross, belonging to me, and sundry effects left in his care.

"4. My lands in the state of Vermont.

"5. Shares in the Ohio Company.

"6. Shares in the Indiana Company.

"7. About 1,800 pounds sterling due to me from

Edward Bancroft, unless paid by him to Sir Robert Herries, and is then in his hands.

"8. Upwards of four years of my pension due from Denmark, to be asked from the Count de Bernstorf.

"9. Arrearages of my pay from the empress of Russia, and all my prize money.

"10. The balance due to me by the United States of America, of sundry claims in Europe, which will appear from my papers.

"This is taken from his mouth.

"Gouverneur Morris."

Several papers and vouchers, nominally for a considerable value, were certified by Mr. Robert Hyslop, of New York, in 1797, to have been left in his hands, "belonging to the estate of the late Commodore Jones." The value of most of them, it would seem from the inventory, was merely nominal, so far as money could be recovered upon them.

Whatever claim Jones might have had upon this government, none has ever been urged since the partial settlement of his accounts in 1787, of which his correspondence and the accompanying documents make any mention. His representatives were more fortunate, in obtaining a partial payment from France. His sister, Mrs. Taylor, set out from Scotland for Paris, in the month of October next after his death, and after some adventures almost romantic, succeeded in obtaining shelter, and an introduction which enabled her to appear in person before

the national assembly and present her claim. Payment was ordered; but she was obliged to escape and find her way home through tumult and danger after all her acquaintances had left the capital, before she received the whole amount. She was in the city when Louis XVI. suffered, a spectacle her brother was spared from witnessing. His remains moldered quietly in the spot where they were deposited, while the storms of revolution roared over them unheard.

His papers were among the articles belonging to him which Mrs. Taylor was enabled to secure. Three days after she left Paris, Mr. White, Maître d'Hôtel Anglais, with whom she had lodged, was arrested and his effects were seized.

In the personal appearance of Paul Jones there was nothing, if we may credit the statement of those who remember him, and among these, of ladies, who are perhaps the best judges; nor is there anything in the busts or pictures taken of him that would have particularly attracted attention. He was of the middle size, if not rather under; naturally active in body, and capable of undergoing much fatigue, as is evident from the record of his life. His bust, by Houdon, of which several copies remain in this country, is believed to be the best representation of his features ever made. Their character is that of decision and self-will.

He was precisely one of those men whom America wanted, and whom Providence in its wisdom raised up for the exigency. The very defects of his educa-

tion, and even of his temper, were advantages to a cause where positive energy was invoked. He must and will be honored among the foremost patriots whose services in battle the people of this republic are bound to hold in hallowed remembrance.

APPENDIX.

No I.

The following letter, addressed to the Honorable Robert Morris, is published entire because it comprehends the substance, and in many instances the literal expressions of Jones, in several other letters, private and official, relating to his own opinion of what should be the organization of the navy; and giving a history of the difficulties which arose in the infant fleet of the country, concerning rank.

"Philadelphia, *October* 10*th*, 1783.

'Sir,—

"It is the custom of nations on the return of peace to honor, promote and reward such officers as have served through the war with the greatest 'zeal, prudence and intrepidity.' And since my country has, after an eight-years' war, attained the inestimable blessing of peace and the sovereignty of an extensive empire; I presume that (as I have constantly and faithfully served through the Revolution, and at the same time supported it, in a degree, with my purse), I may be allowed to lay my grievances before you, as the head of the marine. I will hope,

sir, through you, to meet with redress from Congress. Rank, which opens the door to glory, is too near the heart of every officer of true military feeling to be given up in favor of any other man who has not, by the achievement of some brilliant action, or by known and superior abilities, merited such preference. If this be so, how must I have felt, since, by the second table of captains in the navy, adopted by Congress on the 10th of October, 1776, I was superseded in favor of thirteen persons, two of whom were my junior lieutenants at the beginning; the rest were only commissioned into the continental navy on that day; and if they had any superior abilities these were not then known, nor have since been proved! I am the oldest sea officer (except Captain Whipple) on the Journal, and under the commission of Congress, remaining in the service. In the year 1775, when the navy was established, some of the gentlemen by whom I was superseded were applied to to embark in the first expedition; but they declined. Captain Whipple has often and lately told me that they said to him, 'they did not choose to be hanged.' It is certain the hazard at the first was very great; and some respectable gentlemen, by whom I am superseded, accepted the appointments of captain and lieutenant of a provincial vessel for the protection of the river, after our fleet had sailed from it; and on board of which they had refused to embark, though I pretend not to know their reason. But the face of affairs having changed, as we ripened into the Dec-

laration of Independence in 1776, their apprehensions subsided; and in a letter I received from the late Mr. Joseph Hewes, of Congress, and of the marine committee, dated at Philadelphia, May the 26th, 1776, and directed to me as captain of the Providence at New York, he says: 'You would be surprised to hear what a vast number of applications are continually making for officers of the new frigates, especially for the command. The strong recommendations from those provinces where any frigates are building have great weight.'

"He adds: 'My utmost endeavors shall be exerted to serve you; from a conviction that your merit entitles you to promotion, and that you ought to command some who were placed higher than yourself.' I ask, sir, did these 'recommendations' plead more successful than the merit of all the gallant men who first braved the ocean in the cause of America? Your candor must answer, Yes. What hapless prospect then have those who can only claim from past, though applauded, services? Credit, it is alleged, has been, however, taken in this Revolution for 'unparalleled heroism.' I am sorry for it; for great as our pretensions to heroism may be, yet modesty becomes young nations as well as young men. But the first beginning of our navy was, as navies now rank, so singularly small that I am of opinion it has no precedent in history. Was it a proof of madness in the first corps of sea officers to have, at so critical a period, launched out on the ocean, with only two armed merchant ships, two

armed brigantines, and one armed sloop, to make war against such a power as Great Britain? They had, perhaps, in proportion to their number, as much sense as the present table of officers can boast of; and it has not yet been proved that they did not understand at least as well their duty.

"Their first expedition was far more glorious than any other that has been since attempted from our coast. Every officer on that service merited promotion, who was capable of receiving it. And, if there was an improper man placed over them as commander-in-chief, was that a reason to slight or disgrace the whole corps? Has the subsequent military conduct of those officers, by whom the first corps of sea officers were superseded, justified the preference they had to command the new frigates? If it has not, what shall we say in favor of the precedence, which, 'Repugnant to an Act of Congress, of the 22d of December, 1775,' and contrary to all rule or example, was given them in the second table of naval rank, adopted the 10th of October, 1776? Could anything have been more humiliating than this to sea officers appointed and commissioned in 1775? Would it not have been more kind to have dismissed them from the service, even without assigning a reason for so doing? Before any second arrangement of naval rank had been made, perhaps it would have been good policy to have commissioned five or seven old mariners, who had seen war, to have examined the qualifications of the candidates, especially, those who made their conditions and sought

so earnestly after command of the new frigates. Those commissioners might also have examined the qualifications of the first corps of sea officers, promoted such as were capable of it, and struck from the list such as were unequal to the commission they bore, etc. Thus, by giving precedence in rank to all the captains who had served and were thought worthy of being continued; and also to all lieutenants promoted to the rank of captains, for their meritorious services and fit qualifications, justice might have been done both to individuals and to the public. It has been said, with a degree of contempt, by some of the gentlemen who came into the continental navy the second year of the war, that 'I was only a lieutenant at the beginning;' and pray, what were they when I was out on the ocean in that character? They pay me a compliment. To be diffident is not always a proof of ignorance, but sometimes the contrary. I was offered a captain's commission at the first, to command the Providence, but declined it. Let it, however, be remembered that there were three grades of sea lieutenants established by the Act of Congress of the 22d of December, 1775; and as I had the honor to be placed at the head of the first of those grades, it is not quite fair in those gentlemen to confound me with the last; yet, when I came to try my skill, I am not ashamed to own, I did not find myself perfect in the duties of a first lieutenant. However, I by no means admit that any one of the gentlemen who so earnestly sought after rank and the com-

mand of the new frigates the next year was at the beginning able to teach me any part of the duty of a sea officer. Since that time, it is well known, there has been no comparison between their means of acquiring military marine knowledge and mine.

"If midnight study, and the instruction of the greatest and most learned sea officers, can give me advantages, I am not without them. I confess, however, I am yet to learn. It is the work of many years' study and experience to acquire the high degree of science necessary for a great sea officer. Cruising after merchant ships, the service on which our frigates have generally been employed, affords, I may say, no part of the knowledge necessary for conducting fleets and their operations. There is now, perhaps, as much difference between a single battle between two ships, and an engagement between two fleets, as there is between a single duel and a ranged battle between two armies. I became captain by right of service and succession, and by order and commission of his excellency Ezek. Hopkins, Esq., commander-in-chief, the 10th day of May, 1776, at which time the captain of the Providence was broke and dismissed from the navy by a court-martial. Having arrived at Philadelphia with a little convoy from Boston, soon after the Declaration of Independence, President Hancock gave me a captain's commission under the United States, dated the 8th day of August, 1776. I did not at the time think this was doing me justice; as it did not correspond with the date of my appointment by the

commander-in-chief. It was, however, I presumed, the first naval commission granted under the United States. And as a resolution of Congress had been passed the 17th day of April, 1776, 'that the nomination of captains should not determine rank, which was to be settled before commissions were granted,' my commission of the 8th of August, 1776, must, by that resolution, take rank of every commission dated the 10th of October, 1776. My duty brought me again to Philadelphia in April, 1777; and President Hancock then told me that new naval commissions were ordered to be distributed to the officers.

"He requested me to show him the captain's commission he had given me the year before. I did so. He then desired me to leave it with him a day or two, till he could find a leisure moment to fill up a new commission. I made no difficulty. When I waited on him the day before my departure, to my great surprise, he put into my hands a commission dated the 10th day of October, 1776, and numbered eighteen on the margin! I told him that was not what I expected, and requested my former commission. He turned over various papers on the table, and at last told me he was sorry to have lost or mislaid it. He paid me many compliments on the services I had performed in vessels of little force, and assured me no officer stood higher in the opinion of Congress than myself; a proof of which, he said, was my late appointment to the command of secret expeditions, with five sail and men proportioned, against St. Kitts, Pensacola, Augustine, etc. That the table of

naval rank that had been adopted the 10th of October, 1776, had been drawn up in a hurry, and without well knowing the different merits and qualifications of the officers; but it was the intention of Congress to render impartial justice, and always to honor, promote, and reward merit. And as to myself, that I might depend on receiving a very agreeable appointment soon after my return to Boston; and, until I was perfectly satisfied respecting my rank, I should have a separate command. I returned to Boston, and it was not long before I received orders to proceed to Europe to command the great frigate building at Amsterdam, for the United States; then called the Indien, and since the South Carolina. It was proposed that I should proceed to France in a ship belonging to that kingdom; but, some difficulties arising, the sloop of war Ranger, of eighteen guns, was put under my command for that service, and to serve afterwards as a tender to the Indien. Political reasons defeated the plan, after I had met our commissioners at Paris agreeable to their order, to consult on the ways and means of carrying it into execution. I returned in consequence to Nantes, and reassumed command of the Ranger. When I returned from Europe and my sovereign told the world that some of my military conduct on the coast of England had been 'attended with circumstances so brilliant as to excite general applause and admiration;' when the honors conferred on me by his most Christian Majesty; to wit, a gold sword, on which is impressed the highly

flattering words, '*Vindicati Maris Ludovicus XVI. Remunerator Strenuo Vindici*,' and emblems of the alliance between the United States and France, accompanied with the order and patent of military merit, and a very strong and particular letter of recommendation to Congress in my behalf, were declared by them to be 'highly acceptable'; when I was thought worthy of a vote of thanks and general approbation, I was far from thinking that such pleasing expressions were all the gratification I had to expect. The committee of Congress to whom was referred my general examination by the Board of Admiralty, with the report of that board thereon, were of opinion that I had merited a gold medal, with devices declarative of the vote of thanks which I had received from the United States in Congress assembled. And I was persuaded that I should also be promoted, or at least restored to the place I held in the naval line of rank in the year 1775. I waited patiently for some time; but nothing was done on either of these subjects. Being informed by some members of Congress that it was necessary I should present my claim respecting rank, in writing, I did so in a letter addressed to his excellency the President of Congress, the 28th of May, 1781. My application was referred to a special committee, who, as I have been informed by one of its members, made a report in my favor, and gave as their opinion that I had merited to be promoted to the rank of rear-admiral. Before Congress had taken up the report an application in op-

position to me was made by two of the captains who had superseded me. Upon this the report was recommitted. The committee once more reported in my favor; but without giving a direct opinion respecting my promotion; and recommended the appointment of a commander-in-chief of the navy, as may be seen by that report; which, on account of the thinness of Congress, was on the 24th of August, 1781, indorsed 'Not to be acted upon.' It is, however, plain it was intended to be taken up again when a proper opportunity presented itself; otherwise it would not have been retained on the files of Congress. This appears also by the extract of a letter which I wrote from New Hampshire, and the answer that I received from the Honorable John Matthews, Esq., who was chairman of the committee respecting the honorary medal, and a member of the committee on my rank. While my claim for rank stood recommitted before the committee, I was unanimously elected by ballot in Congress, the 26th of June, 1781, to command the America of 74 guns (and, as I was erroneously informed, ready to launch at Portsmouth); on which occasion several of the members of Congress told me as their opinion that my rank was thereby settled beyond a dispute; because the America was the only ship in the service 'of 40 guns and upwards;' and Congress had resolved that captains of ships of 40 guns and upwards should rank as colonels, and captains of ships between 20 and 40 guns as lieutenant-colonels. There appeared so much reason and justice in that opinion

that I was then and am still inclined to believe it was not without good foundation; for certainly there is no comparison between the trust reposed in a captain of the line and a captain of a frigate; and, except in England, where avarice is the ruling principle of the corps, there is no equality between their distinct ranks. A captain of the line must at this day be a tactician. A captain of a cruising frigate may make shift without ever having heard of the naval tactic. Until I arrived in France, and became acquainted with that great tactician Count de Orvilliers and his judicious assistant the Chevalier Du Pavillion, who each of them honored me with instructions respecting the science of governing the operations and police of a fleet, I confess I was not sensible how ignorant I had been of naval tactics.

"I have many things to offer respecting the formation of our navy, but shall reserve my observations upon that head until you shall have leisure to attend to them and require them of me. I have had the honor to be presented with copies of the signals, tactics, and police, that have been adopted under the different admirals of France and Spain during the war; and I have in my last campaign seen them put in practise. While I was at Brest, as well as while I was inspecting the building of the America, as I had furnished myself with good authors, I applied much of my leisure time to the study of naval architecture and other matters, that relate to the establishment and police of dockyards, etc. (I, however, feel myself

bound to say again, I have yet much need to be instructed.) But if, such as I am, it is thought I can be useful in the formation of the future marine of America, make my whole honor, and I am so truly a citizen of the United States that I will cheerfully do my best to effect that great object. It was my fortune, as the senior of the first lieutenants, to hoist the flag of America the first time it was displayed. Though this was but a light circumstance, yet I feel for its honor more than I think I should have done if it had not happened. I drew my sword at the beginning, not after having made sinister conditions, but purely from principle in the glorious cause of freedom; which I hope has been amply evinced by my conduct during the Revolution. I hope I shall be pardoned in saying it will not be expected, after having fought and bled for the purpose of contributing to make millions happy and free, that I should remain miserable and dishonored by being superseded without any just cause assigned. Permit me now, sir, to draw your particular attention to the following points: 1st, By virtue of my commission as the senior of the first lieutenants of the American navy, I stand next in rank to Captain Abraham Whipple, who is the only one of my senior officers now remaining in the service. 2dly, By the commission as captain under the United States, which I received from the hands of President Hancock at the door of the chamber of Congress, dated the 8th day of August, 1776, I am entitled to precede all the captains whose commissions under the

United States are dated the 10th day of October following. 3dly, My right of precedence is confirmed by the Act of Congress of the 26th of June, 1781, appointing me to the command of the America of 74 guns, Congress having previously resolved that captains of ships of 40 guns and upwards should rank as colonels, and that captains of ships from 40 down to 20 guns should rank only as lieutenant-colonels. I will at present say nothing of those pretensions which the favorable notice and recommendation of his most Christian Majesty might encourage me to form, and which have hitherto proved so fruitless to me, though similar recommendations from Congress to that monarch have proved so efficacious in favor of those who were honored with them. Though I have only memtioned two things that afflict me, *i. e.*, the delay of a decision respecting my rank and the honorary medal, yet I have met with many other humiliations in the service that I have borne in silence. I will just mention one of them. When the America was presented to his most Christian Majesty, I presume it would not have been inconsistent with that act of my sovereign, if it had mentioned my name. Such little attentions to the military pride of officers are always of use to a state, and cost nothing. In the present instance it could have been no displeasing circumstance, but the contrary, to a monarch who condescends to honor me with his attention. I appeal to yourself, sir, whether, after being unanimously elected to command the first and only American ship of the line, my con-

duct, for more than sixteen months while inspecting her building and launching, had merited only such cold neglect? When the America was taken from me, I was deprived of my tenth command.

"Will posterity believe that out of this number the sloop-of-war Ranger was the best I was ever enabled by my country to bring into actual service? If I have been instrumental in giving the American flag some reputation and making it respectable among European nations, will you permit me to say that it is not because I have been honored by my country either with proper means or proper encouragement. I cannot conclude this letter without reminding you of the insult offered to the flag of America by the court of Denmark; in giving up to England, towards the end of the year 1779, two large letter-of-marque ships (the one the Union, from London, the other the Betsy, from Liverpool), that had entered the port of Bergen, in Norway, as my prizes. Those two ships mounted 22 guns each, and were valued, as I have been told, at sixteen hundred thousand livres Tournois. I acquit myself of my duty by giving you this information, now when the sovereignty and independence of America is acknowledged by Great Britain; and I trust that Congress will now demand and obtain proper acknowledgments and full restitution from the court of Denmark.

"I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"J. Paul Jones."

(Copy of a report of a committee on Captain Paul Jones' letter and others. Indorsed "August 24th, 1781, not to be acted upon.")

"The committee to whom were referred the application of Captain John Paul Jones; and also the applications of Captain James Nicholson and Captain Thomas Reed, beg leave to report,

"That by an arrangement of the captains of the navy which was adopted by Congress on the tenth day of October, A. D. 1776, Captain James Nicholson was placed first in rank, Captain Thomas Reed eighth, and Captain John Paul Jones the eighteenth.

"The committee cannot fully ascertain the rule by which that arrangement was made, as the relative rank was not conformable to the times of appointment or dates of commission, and seems repugnant to a resolution of Congress, of the 22d of December, 1775. It appears that Captains Whipple, Barry, Hollock, and Alexander were appointed captains previous to either of the applicants; Captain Nicholson was later than either, excepting Reed; but Captain Nicholson had a command of armed vessels under the authority of the state of Maryland, prior to his being adopted in the continental navy. It is, therefore, to be presumed that preference was given to him on that account. Upon the whole, the committee submit to Congress whether it will be advisable to alter that arrangement? If they should, Captain Jones will now stand the fifth captain, if respect be had only to times of appointment in that grade; but if regard be had to Captain Jones' being

a lieutenant in the navy prior to the appointment of many of the other gentlemen, he would then stand second in the rank of captains, and Whipple first.

"The committee also recommend to Congress the expediency of appointing a commander-in-chief of the navy, in the place of the late Ezek. Hopkins, Esq., dismissed."

No. II.

In the early part of the Revolutionary war the maritime flag seems to have been either the coat-of-arms of the respective colonies under whose authority vessels were equipped, or to have depended upon the whim or fancy of the commanding officer. Thus the brig Yankee Hero, of Marblehead, captured, after an obstinate engagement by the Milford frigate, bore a pine tree in a white field; and several fitted out from New York bore a black beaver.

On the 9th of February, 1776, thirteen months after Manly had been scouring the ocean under the authority of the colony of Massachusetts, "Colonel Gadsden presented to Congress an elegant standard, such as is to be used by the commander-in-chief of the American navy; being a yellow field with a lively representation of a rattlesnake in the attitude of going to strike, and these words underneath, 'Don't tread on me.'" This was doubtless the strange flag of which an English writer of that period speaks in the following words: "A strange

flag has lately appeared in our seas, bearing a pine tree with the portraiture of a rattlesnake coiled up at its roots, with these daring words: 'Don't tread on me.' We learn that the vessels bearing this flag have a sort of commission from a society of people at Philadelphia, calling themselves the Continental Congress."

No. III.

The following letter is without date, and the address is torn off. It is an interesting fragment.

". . . Count d'Estaing, the king never had a subject who loved him better; who has a nobler mind, or who is a more worthy citizen. Though vice-admiral of France (the only officer of that high rank who has served in the late war), he was sent out to America with no more than the command of a Chief d'Escadre; and from three to four months after I had given the minister of marine the plan of that expedition. I gave the plan the 10th of February, 1778. That long and unnecessary delay rendered it scarcely possible for the expedition to succeed. Yet this was no fault of the vice-admiral; who, on the contrary, deserves the highest praise for his zeal and perseverance. He would have surmounted every difficulty and taken Lord Howe in the road of New York if a generous sacrifice of his own fortune, 150,000 liv., could have induced the pilot to conduct him over the bar.

"The captains who were about him were constantly in cabal to frustrate his projects, and never approached him with their advice, but with a revolting impertinence which is highly culpable in the mouth of subalterns when they speak to their chief. The admiral had proof that those men had done all in their power, by letters to court and otherwise, to ruin him. *Carte blanche* was sent him to punish them at his pleasure. But he contented himself with showing them that he was too noble-minded to avail himself of his power. He gave them every opportunity of distinguishing their zeal for their country, and always rendered ample justice to their good character. The taking of Grenada is a military achievement greater than any other admiral can boast of in the course of the last war; but if Count de G—— had supported his admiral in the engagement with Byron, it would have been the most glorious affair for the flag of France that ever happened. If the admiral did not succeed at Savannah, it must be attributed to invincible difficulties. No other man in his place would have succeeded. He had been misinformed respecting the badness of the coast, where his fleet were obliged to remain at anchor far from the land in the open sea, far from every resource of provisions, wood, or water. He had been misinformed respecting the length and shallowness of the river, the strength of the place, and the force of the enemy. When he summoned Savannah to surrender he had not above a fourth part of his troops landed, and he had with him neither mortars

nor battering cannon. He found the enemy much stronger than he had expected; and it was a stratagem of war that might have succeeded; for he was certain that the enemy did not know that he was not of sufficient force to put his threat in execution. No fault can be found with his conduct on that expedition, except it be said that it was wrong to give the enemy so long time as two days to make his capitulation. But to this it may be answered, that the admiral could not possibly be ready in a shorter time to assault the place, which was so strongly reinforced in the interim that an assault must have failed. A siege, therefore, became indispensable. This required much more time; but there is reason to believe it would have succeeded if the admiral had not been so dangerously wounded when he stormed the place after having made a practicable breach; for some of the Americans had got possession of a commanding bastion before the retreat was ordered. In war the force must be very superior that can insure success. And even a superior force may fail through circumstances, without any reflection on the commander. But Count d'Estaing deserved success; and he can say what no other man can do who served through all the last war: 'He has had no advancement, his wounds are his honors; and the public esteem his reward.'

"History says that France has no officer whom England fears so much.

"I have the honor to be, etc., etc.,

"Paul Jones."

No. IV.

I find among the papers before me a draft from the board of treasury, dated May 9th, for 181,039 livres, 1 sol, and 10 deniers, in favor of Mr. Jefferson, expressed to be for "moneys received by you from the treasury of the marine of the port of L'Orient, on account of prize money due to the frigate Alliance, and the American officers and sailors employed under your command, conformably to your two receipts of the 18th August, and 5th September, 1785, transmitted to the department of foreign affairs, for which payment this shall be your sufficient voucher." On the back is Mr. Jefferson's receipt, as follows: "Received from Commodore Paul Jones, one hundred and twelve thousand one hundred and seventy-two livres, two sols, and four deniers, paid by him to Mr. Grand, as the balance of the sum mentioned in the annexed bill of the treasury, according to Commodore Jones' account, to be submitted to Congress. Paris, 12th July, 1786. Th. Jefferson." Jones' account was as follows; indorsed thus in Mr. Jefferson's handwriting: "Paris, in the kingdom of France, to wit: The within-named John Paul Jones made oath before me on the holy evangelists, that his ordinary expenses since his arrival in Europe for the purpose of recovering the prize money, as within stated, have amounted to forty-seven thousand nine hundred and

seventy-two livres, eleven sous tournois. Given under my hand the fifth day of August, 1786. Th. Jefferson."

"Amount of prize money belonging to the American part of the crew of the Bonhomme Richard (and to some few foreigners, whose names and qualities, etc., are inserted in the roll), with the amount, also, of the prize money belonging to the crew of the Alliance; received at L'Orient, by order of the Maréchal de Castries, in bills on Paris.

				Livres. S. D.
				181,039 01 10
From which deduct, viz.				
Net amount of my ordinary expenses since I arrived in Europe to settle the prize money belonging to the citizens and subjects of America, who served on board the squadron I commanded, under the flag of the United States, at the expense of his most Christian Majesty, stated to his excellency Thomas Jefferson, Esq., the 4th of this month,	47,972	11	0	
Paid the draft of M. le Jeune, for the amount of prize money due to Jacque Tual, pilot of the Alliance,	670	18	6	
Amount of prize money paid M. de Blondel, lieutenant of marines of the Pallas, as stated on the roll of the Bonhomme Richard,	283	00	0	
Advances made to sundry persons, which stand at my credit on the roll of the Bonhomme Richard,	264	09	6	
Advances made by me to sundry persons belonging to the Bonhomme Richard; these advances do not stand at my credit on the roll settled at L'Orient, by M. le Jeune, because the commissary had neglected to send him the original roll from the bureau at Versailles,				

but the commissary has rectified that omission, by his certificates, dated September 5th, 1785, and February 22d, 1786,	6,385	00	0	
My share, by the roll, as captain of the Bonhomme Richard,	13,291	5	6	
				68,866 19 0
				112,172 2 4

"PAUL JONES.

"PARIS, *July* 7, 1786."

On transmitting his statement of the account to Mr. Jefferson, Jones wrote as follows:

"I have the honor to enclose and submit to your consideration the account I have stated of the prize money in my hands, with sundry papers that regard the charges. I cannot bring myself to lessen the dividend of the American captors by making any charge either for my time or trouble. I lament that it has not yet been in my power to procure for them advantages as solid and as extensive as the merit of their services. I would not have undertaken this business from any views of private emolument that could possibly have resulted from it to myself, even supposing I had recovered or should recover a sum more considerable than the penalty of my bond. But I was anxious to force some ill-natured persons to acknowledge that, if they did not tell a wilful falsehood, they were mistaken when they asserted that I had commanded a squadron of privateers. And, the war being over, I made it my first care to show the brave instruments of my success that their rights are as dear to me as my own. It

will, I believe, be proper for me to make oath before you to the amount charged for my ordinary expenses. I flatter myself that you will find no objection to the account as I have stated it, and that you are of the opinion that, after this settlement has been made between us, my bond ought to stand canceled as far as regards my transactions with the court of France. Should any part of the prize money remain in the treasury without being claimed after sufficient time shall be elapsed, I beg leave to submit to you, to the treasury, and to Congress, whether I have not merited by my conduct since I returned to Europe that such remainder should be disposed of in my favor?"

THE END.